

ABHANDLUNGEN
DER AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN IN GÖTTINGEN
PHILOLOGISCH-HISTORISCHE KLASSE

Dritte Folge, Nr. 47

HEINRICH LÜDERS†

MATHURĀ INSCRIPTIONS

UNPUBLISHED PAPERS
EDITED BY KLAUS L. JANERT



GÖTTINGEN · VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT · 1961

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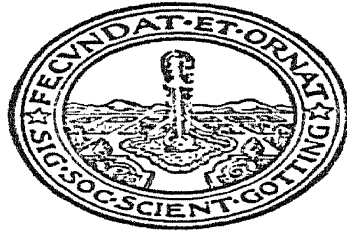
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Vorgelegt in der Sitzung vom 22. Juli 1960

Gesamtherstellung: Hubert & Co., Göttingen

7761

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

When Professor Dr. Heinrich Lüders died in May 1943, his manuscript on early Brāhmī inscriptions, prepared for the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, was not yet finished. Moreover it was partly destroyed by post-war events. Particulars are stated in the Preface to Lüders' edition of Bhārhut Inscriptions, supplemented and prepared for publication by myself in collaboration with Dr. Madhukar Anant Mehendale, Poona.¹

Besides the treatises on Bhārhut Inscriptions, published in the volume mentioned, Lüders' fragmentary manuscript, when it came into my hands in 1946, consisted mainly of items on Mathurā inscriptions. At first I aimed at finishing a second fascicle for the *Corpus* containing these inscriptions, since in 1947 the then Director General of Archaeology had agreed to publish Lüders' papers in different fascicles beginning with the Bhārhut inscriptions.

After handing the revised and supplemented manuscript on Bhārhut inscriptions over to the Indian authorities in 1954 there was, however, a delay of some years before the printing could start. By this time I became engaged in other publications and I had found out that the attempt to publish the intended fascicle on Mathurā inscriptions as a part of the *Corpus* would afford considerable supplementary work, because it seemed necessary not merely to fill in missing parts of Lüders' manuscript but also to include Mathurā inscriptions discovered during and after World War II. Without continued travelling in India it appeared difficult to procure necessary estampages of such inscriptions, as well as to finish the work within reasonable time.

I decided to publish the remaining parts of Lüders' manuscript on Mathurā inscriptions in its original form, also in view of the handicap which consisted in the absence of any documentary statement by the author of his views on chronological problems such as eras and dating of kings like Kanīṣka. Editing his unpublished papers as a part of the *Corpus*, one would have been compelled to attribute one's own views more or less to the author or even to criticize Lüders here and there. From the manuscript it was obvious, indeed, that Lüders endeavoured to tackle the chronological problems on a palaeographical basis, classing every inscription according to four categories, viz. *Ś* (Śuṅga), *Kṣa* (Kṣatrapa),

¹ *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, Part II, 1, Brāhmī-Inscriptions from Bhārhut, edited by the late Heinrich Lüders, revised and supplemented by Ernst Waldschmidt, Göttingen, in collaboration with Madhukar Anant Mehendale, Poona.

K (Kuṣāṇa) and *G* (Gupta) and numbering each item in its chronological order. Pencilled numbers like Ś 2 etc., which have been printed in the headings of individual inscriptions of the present edition, were to be found on the first sheet of the manuscript of every inscription.¹

To Dr. Klaus L. Janert, formerly Assistant in the Indological Seminary at Göttingen University, merit is due for having prepared the manuscript for the press. Thanking him for his laborious and painstaking task, I am ending this 'Introductory Note' to clear the way for his Preface.

Göttingen, June 1960

E. Waldschmidt

¹ A survey of this chronological order of inscriptions is given in Concordance II. Readers interested in chronological questions are expressly invited to make use of these tables. At any rate the numbers, though authentic, have to be considered as provisional.

PREFACE

Already in 1877, when he published the first volume of the "Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum"¹ (Aśoka Inscriptions), General (afterwards Sir) Alexander Cunningham had planned the edition of the next two volumes of the newly established series,² viz. II. "Inscriptions of the Indo-Scythians, and of the Satraps of Surashtra", and III. "Inscriptions of the Guptas, and of other contemporary Dynasties of Northern India". Only eleven years later the edition of the Gupta Inscriptions was brought out by J. F. Fleet,³ whereas the preparations for the second volume met with difficulties.

A. F. R. Hoernle, entrusted with the edition of the "Indo-Scythic" inscriptions, enlarged the collection of materials gathered by Cunningham, until in 1905 he turned over to H. Lüders his "collection of impressions, rubbings and drawings of inscriptions formed by him when preparing the second volume of the CII".⁴ This work "would, no doubt, have comprised all the then known records of the period between Aśoka and the Guptas . . . Early in the present century the question of filling the gap was the subject of conversations, and . . . in the year 1907, . . . the Secretary of State for India agreed to arrange for a volume wherein Professors E. J. Rapson and H. Lüders were to collaborate as joint editors, Prof. Rapson undertaking the Kharoṣṭhī portion [as CII 2, 1]⁵ and Prof. Lüders the Brāhmī [as CII 2, 2]"⁶.

In 1904 Lüders made publicly known that he had begun to prepare "a list of the Indian inscriptions prior to about A. D. 400"⁷, i. e. his "List of Brāhmī Inscriptions (from the earliest times to about A. D. 400 with exception of those of Aśoka)". Representing a necessary preliminary for such an undertaking as the intended edition of the CII 2, 2, the List (Part 1: Northern inscriptions, 2: Southern inscriptions) was published in 1912; in it Lüders had registered more than 1,400 records, each with an abstract of the contents together with its bibliography.

In the recently published edition of Lüders' "Bhārhut Inscriptions", E. Waldschmidt and M. A. Mehendale speak about Lüders' work on

¹ It was James Prinsep who, in 1837, had indicated the necessity of this collective publication and suggested its name (cf. JASB 6. 1837, p. 663; CII 3, p. 1).

² Cf. CII 1 (1877), p. I.

³ CII 3 (1888).

⁴ Ep. Ind. 9. 1907/08, p. 241. Cf. also below p. 62, n. 1; 65; 71; 99; 101; 211; 212.

⁵ "In 1922, when Prof. Rapson finally renounced his task, . . . Prof. S. Konow . . . was found willing to assume the duty" (Thomas, cf. n. 6 below).

⁶ Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen 193. 1931, p. 1: F. W. Thomas in his Review of the CII 2, 1 edited by S. Konow.

⁷ Cf. Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 33.

the Brāhmī inscriptions and report on the history of the manuscript as well as on its post-war fate.¹ They say in this connection: "Evidently Prof. Lüders intended to publish the northern and the southern Brāhmī inscriptions separately in two volumes, and it (is) obvious that he first worked only on the northern inscriptions. Even the manuscript of Prof. Lüders on northern inscriptions was not complete when it came to the hands of Prof. Waldschmidt . . . It seems, however, certain that Prof. Lüders had not written the introduction to his intended volume treating the questions relating to the different eras and other points of general interest. Similarly the treatment of the language of the different groups of inscriptions as well as the various indices were missing in the manuscript. The bulk of the manuscript as it . . . existed (after the war) dealt with the Mathurā and the Bhārhut inscriptions . . ."

While working on the above mentioned volume of the Bhārhut Inscriptions (CII 2, 2, 1), Prof. Waldschmidt had also made preparations for the edition of Lüders' manuscript of the Mathurā Inscriptions. (See above p. 5f.)

In the winter of 1957/58 Prof. Waldschmidt handed the entire material, to which a typed copy of the Manuscript was attached, over to the editor, to whom he explained the subject. He was at all times ready to help and took great interest in the progress of the work. The editor is greatly indebted to Prof. Waldschmidt and wishes to express his thanks to him.

The Manuscript of the Mathurā Inscriptions is evidently complete except for the introductory general discussions² (see above), the records from the Kaṅkāli Tīlā³, and the indices.

¹ Cf. also E. Waldschmidt in the Preface to his edition of the literary remains of: H. Lüders †, *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons*, aus d. Nachlaß hrsg. v. E. Waldschmidt, Berlin 1954 (*Abhandlungen d. Deutschen Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin, Kl. f. Sprachen, Literatur u. Kunst*, 1952, 10), p. 8, and also: below p. 11, n. 2.

² Below, p. 136, the author referred to his Introduction, but one cannot conclude from it that it was already completed.

³ Only the treatises on six of the approximately 100 records from the Jaina Sanctuary are extant (cf. below §§ 14—17, 20—21), together with two (§§ 22—23) of which it is not quite certain whether they originate from the K. T. Of these eight treatises three have been cancelled by the author (§§ 14, 15, 23), but the revised copies are not extant. Two further records from the K. T., missing in the Manuscript, Lüders had treated in his above mentioned publication "Seven Brāhmī Inscriptions . . ." (List Nos 94, 103, cf. below §§ 18—19). As the author referred (below p. 51, p. 163) moreover to his articles on other epigraphs from the K. T. (List Nos 93, 78), which are missing now, it is to be assumed that the bulk of his treatises on inscriptions from the Jaina Sanctuary is lost, and that those articles just mentioned (i. e. §§ 14—17, 20—23) are preserved only by chance. — From the "Memoranda" of W. Lentz it follows that Lüders discussed 30 Jaina inscriptions in his circle of Indologists (cf. below p. 11f.). — It remains, however, doubtful whether the author had already treated all records from the K. T. for the intended volume of the CII and whether he had written the observations on the excavation site too.



HEINRICH LÜDERS and STEN KONOW

Already in 1937 or 1938 Lüders had submitted some specimen treatises on inscriptions from Mathurā for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica* (viz. "Seven Brāhmī Inscriptions from Mathurā and its Vicinity"),¹ five of which are also contained in the Manuscript.² This publication shows that the author had once more revised his discussion of the five inscriptions, making some minor changes, but also adding larger passages as well as checking his readings once more.³

It is to be assumed that Lüders would have treated his manuscript of the Mathurā Inscriptions in the same way before publishing it. Of course, he would at the same time have put all into final literary form.

My editorial tasks in the publication of the Manuscript were as follows:

- a) Correction of the above mentioned typewritten copy on the basis of the Manuscript.
- b) Corrections of and supplements to registration numbers of museums. (Cf. also "Concordance III", see below p. 24ff.) In the case of antiquities from the Archaeological Museum (= Curzon Museum) at Mathurā, in the text below the registration numbers are mostly given together with the references to Vogel's Catalogue.⁴
- c) Verification of literary references. (Cf. also "Bibliography", see below p. 240.) Corrections and literary supplements of the editor which are unimportant for the detailed argument of the author were not indicated. Uniform abbreviations were given. Literary references which could not be verified by the editor were marked by a circle after the year of appearance: ° (e.g. 1865°).⁵

¹ Ep. Ind. 24, 1937/38. 1942, p. 194—210.

² Cf. below § 107: L. 41a, § 113: L. 14, § 114: L. 14a, § 115: L. 82a, § 119: L. 14d.

³ In order to survey the readings of Lüders' in the "Index of the words found in the inscriptions" of the present volume, the TEXT of the records published by the author is being repeated below. The same refers to the record List No 125 (= § 187) which is treated in Lüders' *Bhārhut Inscriptions* (CII 2, 2, 1) and edited in full by E. Waldschmidt.

⁴ Cf. now also the "Revised Edition of the Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā" by V. S. Agrawala; Part 1: *Buddha and Bodhisattva Images*, JUPHS 1948, p. 42—98, Pt 2: *Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images*, JUPHS 1949, p. 102—210 (offprint 1951, XII, 109p.), Pt 3: *Jaina Tirthankaras and other Miscellaneous Figures*, JUPHS 1950 (offprint 1952, 113p.), Pt 4: *Architectural Pieces*, JUPHS 1951°, Pt 5: *Supplement*, JUPHS 1952°.

⁵ (The literary sources were not available to the editor.) As the remarks added by Lüders show, these literary passages were known to him mostly from the works of other authors.

In the case of observations of the individual excavation sites, Lüders often used formulations from the works of other authors without specially marking these as quotations.

- d) Comparison of the transcriptions with the estampages and facsimiles respectively.

The author shows supplements with round brackets (); what is damaged or difficult to read, with square brackets []. He was not always consistent in this, and at times he left out the [] in well-known words or parts of words even though they contained *akṣaras*, *mātrkāś* or vowel-signs uncertain from the palaeographical point of view. The author's readings were not altered in such cases, but square brackets and, if necessary, notes have been supplied. — In the Manuscript, Lüders transliterated the vocalic *r* (short or long), the palatal surd mutae, and the lingual sibilant according to the method employed in the CII and the Ep. Ind.; sometimes, however, he used the "international transcription". The editor has taken the liberty of employing the international transcription throughout (i. e. now only: *r*, *ṛ*; *c*, *ch*; *ś*).¹ Inscriptions for which neither a rubbing nor a published facsimile were available² are provided in the present edition with an asterisk * behind the L.-number;³ cf. also "Mathurā inscriptions dealt with" (see below p. 13ff).

- e) In the printer's copy,⁴ the notes (which the author had placed between TEXT and TRANSLATION according to the method employed in the CII and in the Ep. Ind.) were transferred to the bottom of the pages as separate footnotes; paragraphs were rearranged where necessary; the pages 39—44 ("Kaṅkāli Tīlā") inserted.

- f) Arrangement of the inscriptions.⁵

The inscriptions of Part I and Part III were arranged according to the individual excavation sites treated by Lüders in introductory

¹ *śh* was retained in place-names.

² Attempts to get estampages from India remained unsuccessful.

³ See Preface p. 10—11 (f).

⁴ I wish to thank Mrs. Stache-Rosen for being so kind as to read the work in typescript and make a number of valuable suggestions as to the English.

⁵ Cf. also the Introductory Note of Prof. Waldschmidt (see above p. 5—6).

There is no doubt that Lüders did not intend to arrange the Mathurā Inscriptions in the edition according to the numerical order of his List which is arranged mainly for practical purposes: The records from villages north, west and south-west of Mathurā are placed at the beginning (Nos 13—15 with apps. Nos 12a—15a), those from villages south and east of Mathurā, however, are right at the end (No 150 with apps. Nos 149a—c) of the Mathurā section. The inscriptions from Mathurā itself and from the old sanctuaries around Mathurā are placed in the middle, first epigraphs having dates of years (Nos 16—78 with apps. Nos 22a—69a), then records with fragmentarily preserved dates (Nos 78—89 with apps. Nos 81a—89c). The following Nos 90—91 with apps. Nos 91a—c contain

remarks. Part II contains the epigraphs on antiquities which were found in Mathurā City (including Īsāpur) and in the Jamnā River, and Part IV the records whose place of discovery is no longer known. After being arranged in the present edition each treatise received a §-number.

To his own copy of the (printed) *List*, Lüders appended by hand the inscriptions which became known to him after 1912, giving them additional numbers which he also assigned to his treatises on the inscriptions. In the present edition these numbers were kept and put between <>; cf. also "Mathurā inscriptions dealt with" (see below p. 13ff).

All inscription numbers given by Lüders (i. e. those of the printed *List* as well as those of the author's handwritten supplements) are marked by an L. placed in front of them, in so far as the inscriptions are treated in the present work; they are quoted according to the §- and the L.-numbers (e. g. § 50: L. 125 w).

- g) Compilations of the Indices, Concordances, and of the Bibliography.
- h) Compilation of a survey map of the district around Mathurā.¹
- i) Transcription of the "Memoranda" of W. Lentz.

In 1937—38 in his circle of Indologists (the *Kränzchen*)² in Berlin, Professor Dr. Lüders read and discussed inscriptions from Mathurā with his colleagues and friends. From the notes which W. Lentz (a member of the *Kränzchen*) has made,³ it is to be gathered that about 100 Mathurā inscriptions were studied,⁴ which Lüders had obviously selected and grouped according to different viewpoints.⁵ The few general remarks on historical questions which occur in

only numbers (no dates at all). Apps. Nos 125a—y are undated Buddhist inscriptions from different places of discovery, arranged partly according to palaeography, partly according to content.

¹ The India Office Library (London) kindly supplied the editor with the particulars.

² Cf. also the Prefaces of L. Alsdorf to the volumes of Lüders' literary remains, edited by him: Varuṇa, vol. 1—2 (Göttingen 1951—1958).

³ In the "Memoranda" parts of the inscriptions are copied in ordinary writing from the hearing. Often parts of the translations are enclosed in shorthand (system Stolze-Schrey), as well as brief notes here and there.

⁴ The treatises on these inscriptions are kept in the Manuscript with exception of those from the Kaṅkāli Tīlā (see above p. 8, n. 3).

⁵ This conclusion is arrived at only from the order of the inscriptions in the "Memoranda". So for example, the records in which certain terms occur, like *kālavāḍa* (cf. Lüders' publication in the Ep. Ind. 24, see above p. 9, n. 1), *viśvāsika*, *Vaḍakṣa*, are grouped together, further the inscriptions from the statues of Kuṣāṇa princes, the epigraphs from the Jamālpur mound. (Like the group-headings, summarized remarks are also missing in the "Memoranda".)

the "Memoranda" throw no light on Lüders' attitude to the problems of the different eras.

A comparison of the "Memoranda" with the Manuscript shows that the author, after the discussion in his *Kränzchen*, once more revised his older treatises on the inscriptions¹ and this time giving them the wording² now found in the Manuscript.³

The photograph facing page 8, taken in 1937, shows the author (left) together with Prof. Konow (right) in Lüders' study in Berlin-Charlottenburg. (With acknowledgments to Prof. Waldschmidt. — Ed.)

¹ Besides the five older versions (cf. p. 9, n. 2) mentioned above (cf. p. 9) and the three cancelled treatises (cf. p. 8, n. 3), the revised versions of which are missing, there are several inscriptions found in the Manuscript in the older, as well as in the revised versions.

² The author, then, has taken into consideration, as occasion offers, also ideas of the members of his *Kränzchen*; thus from L. Alsdorf (see the next note), F. Gelpke (see below p. 177, n. 1), O. Hansen (see below p. 144, n. 2), S. Konow (see below p. 149, n. 1, p. 178, n. 1).

³ Lüders also published his article in the Ep. Ind. 24 (see above p. 9, n. 1, p. 11, n. 5) after he had explained the »Seven Brāhmī Inscriptions« in his *Kränzchen*, to which L. Alsdorf contributed his observations on *pañcavirāḥ* (see § 113: L. 14; cf. also "Bibliography", p. 247).

MATHURĀ INSCRIPTIONS DEALT WITH

I. Inscriptions from Ancient Sanctuaries in the Environs of Mathurā

1. Kaṭrā Mound p. 29

§ 1: L. 125a	§ 6: <L. 143k>*
§ 2: L. 125c	§ 7: <L. 149f>*
§ 3: <L. 89e>	§ 8: <L. 78c>
§ 4: <L. 143c>*	§ 9: <L. 149v>*
§ 5: <L. 88a>	§ 10: <L. 149l>*
2. Bhūtēsar Mound p. 36

§ 11: L. 91a	
§ 12: L. 52a	
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§ 14: L. 45a	§ 19: L. 103
§ 15: L. 56	§ 20: L. 99
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§ 17: L. 107b	§ 22: <L. 149k>*
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§ 27: L. 85	§ 39: L. 132
§ 28: L. 33	§ 40: L. 133 (= 134)
§ 29: L. 52	§ 41: L. 89
§ 30: L. 60	§ 42: L. 90
§ 31: L. 62	§ 43: L. 91
§ 32: L. 62a	§ 44: L. 125l
§ 33: L. 62b	§ 45: L. 40
§ 34: L. 63	§ 46: L. 126
§ 35: L. 64 (= 61, 64a)	§ 47: L. 125s, 137
§ 36: L. 125y	§ 48: L. 125t
§ 37: L. 65	§ 49: L. 125u

§ 50: L. 125w	§ 61: L. 141
§ 51: L. 131 (= 125v)	§ 62: L. 128
§ 52: L. 125m	§ 63: L. 125q
§ 53: L. 125n	§ 64: L. 82
§ 54: L. 125r	§ 65: L. 140
§ 55: L. 125k	§ 66: L. 125d
§ 56: L. 135	§ 67: L. 146
§ 57: L. 125x	§ 68: L. 136
§ 58: L. 125o	§ 69: <L. 91j>
§ 59: L. 129 (= 130?)	§ 70: L. 91b
§ 60: L. 127	§ 71: <L. 91i>

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4. From the Dasāvatarī Galī	p. 113
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5. From the Mātā Galī	p. 114
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6. From the Gau-Ghāt Well	p. 115
§ 80: <L. 97b>	
7. From the Dalpat-ki-Khīrki Mohalla	p. 116
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8. From the Bharatpur State Mound	p. 119
§ 82: <L. 143j>*	
§ 83: <L. 143f>	
9. From the Gāyatrī Tīlā	p. 120
§ 84: <L. 143g>	
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11. From the Bharatpur Gate p. 121
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5. From Ghosnā p. 152
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 § 146: L. 125 f § 152: <L. 135 a>* § 158: <L. 143 p>*
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 § 173: <L. 92 b> § 177: <L. 138 a>*
 § 174: <L. 35 b> § 178: <L. 85 c>
 § 175: <L. 143 m> § 179: L. 148
4. Pedestal of a Statue in the Prince of Wales Museum,
 Bombay p. 205
 § 180: L. 43
5. Stone in the Patnā Museum p. 206
 § 181: <L. 93 a>
6. Stone Slab in the British Museum, London p. 208
 § 182: L. 23
7. Antiquities lost p. 210
 § 183: L. 138
 § 184: L. 145
 § 185: L. 147
 § 186: L. 149
 § 187: L. 125

OTHER INSCRIPTIONS MENTIONED

<i>List No</i>	18 → p. 180	161 → p. 63
	22 → p. 112	219 → p. 196
	32 → p. 117	541 → p. 208
	45 → p. 180	560 → p. 196
	47 → p. 41; 43, n. 2; 47	623 → p. 164
	59 → p. 42, n. 5; 43, n. 2; 100	728 → p. 57
	67 → p. 50	881 → p. 119
	69 → p. 59, n. 1	902 → p. 119
	74 → p. 117	910 → p. 50; p. 118 (<i>edition!</i>)
	78 → p. 97; 163	918 → p. 55
	93 → p. 42, n. 4f.; 50f.	925 → p. 55; 138
	107 → p. 208	926 → p. 55
	121 → p. 48	927 → p. 55
	122 → p. 48; 117	943 → p. 156
	142 → p. 54, n. 5	944 → p. 156
	143 → p. 54, n. 6	1126 → p. 156
<i>CII 2,1 No</i>	13 → p. 95	75 → p. 96
	15 → p. 96; 100; 204	76 → p. 95; 97; 136
	20,1 → p. 97	85 → p. 141
	26 → p. 136	86 → p. 95; 171
	27 → p. 136	
<i>CII 3 No</i>	1 → p. 96	28 → p. 163, n. 7
	3 → p. 35, n. 3	30 → p. 163, n. 7
	4 → p. 29, n. 3; 117	32 → p. 118
	6 → p. 118	43 → p. 163
	11 → p. 119	63 → p. 59
	23 → p. 163, n. 7	
<i>Ep. Ind. 12. 1913/14, 317, 6: Mandasor inscr.</i>		
<i>from the time of Naravarman</i>		→ p. 118, n. 3
16. 1921/22, 237f.: Gadha (Jasdan)		
<i>inscr., S. 127</i>		→ p. 118, n. 3
18. 1925/26, 158f.: Masharfa inscr.		→ p. 178
21. 1931/32, 55ff.: Mathurā inscr., S. 28		→ p. 136, n. 4; 137; 145
21. 1931/32, 97ff.: Nālandā inscr. of		
<i>Vipulaśrimitra</i>		→ p. 118, n. 4

24. 1937/38, 146 ff.: *Kōsam* inscr. of the
year 107 → p. 119, n. 2
- IHQ 6. 1930, 45 ff.: *Copperplate* dated in
S. 188 → p. 118, n. 1
- ASI Ann. Rep. 1915/16, 2. 1918, p. 105 f.: *Pa-
wāyā* inscr. on the pedestal of a statue
of the *Yakṣa Māṇibhadra* → p. 176, n. 1

CONCORDANCE I

Lüders' inscription numbers¹ and §§ of the present work.

L.	§	L.	§	L.	§
12a	= 134	64	= 35	⟨92c⟩	= 124
13	= 135	64a	= 35	⟨92d⟩	= 176
13a	= 103	65	= 37	⟨93a⟩	= 181
13b	= 104	⟨77a⟩	= 123	94	= 18
14	= 113	⟨78b⟩	= 97	⟨97a⟩	= 89
14a	= 114	⟨78c⟩	= 8	⟨97b⟩	= 80
⟨14aa⟩	= 116	79	= 26	⟨97c⟩	= 79
14b	= 121	⟨79b⟩	= 157	⟨97d⟩	= 86
14c	= 112	80	= 16	⟨97e⟩	= 90
14d	= 119	⟨80b⟩	= 172	98	= 25
⟨14d1⟩	= 120	⟨80c⟩	= 99	99	= 20
⟨14d2⟩	= 117	⟨80d⟩	= 98	⟨102c⟩	= 108
⟨14d3⟩	= 118	⟨80e⟩	= 100	⟨102d⟩	= 109
14e	= 133	⟨80f⟩	= 101	⟨102e⟩	= 110
15	= 106	81a	= 144	⟨102e2⟩	= 111
15a	= 105	82	= 64	103	= 19
⟨21a⟩	= 154	⟨82a⟩	= 115	107b	= 17
⟨21b⟩	= 102	85	= 27	111	= 21
⟨21c⟩	= 128	⟨85a⟩	= 95	124a	= 164
23	= 182	⟨85b⟩	= 96	⟨124m⟩	= 171
⟨23b⟩	= 81	⟨85c⟩	= 178	⟨124r⟩	= 91
⟨24a⟩	= 150	88	= 72	⟨124t⟩	= 92
⟨29a⟩	= 73	⟨88a⟩	= 5	⟨124z⟩	= 165
⟨31a⟩	= 74	89	= 41	125	= 187
⟨31b⟩	= 136	89a	= 76	125a	= 1
33	= 28	89b	= 162	125b	= 143
⟨35b⟩	= 174	89c	= 23	125c	= 2
38	= 24	⟨89e⟩	= 3	125d	= 66
40	= 45	90	= 42	125e	= 167
41a	= 107	91	= 43	125f	= 146
⟨41b⟩	= 126	91a	= 11	125g	= 147
43	= 180	91b	= 70	125h	= 149
45a	= 14	91c	= 148	125i	= 77
52	= 29	⟨91d⟩	= 122	125j	= 145
52a	= 12	⟨91e⟩	= 75	125k	= 55
56	= 15	⟨91f⟩	= 159	125l	= 44
60	= 30	⟨91h⟩	= 160	125m	= 52
61	= 35	⟨91i⟩	= 71	125n	= 53
62	= 31	⟨91j⟩	= 69	125o	= 58
62a	= 32	92	= 88	125q	= 63
62b	= 33	92a	= 168	125r	= 54
63	= 34	⟨92b⟩	= 173	125s	= 47

¹ Cf. above Preface p. 11.

L.	§
125t	= 48
125u	= 49
125v	= 51
125w	= 50
125x	= 57
125y	= 36
126	= 46
127	= 60
128	= 62
129	= 59
(130	= 59)
131	= 51
132	= 39
133	= 40
134	= 40
135	= 56
⟨135a⟩	= 152
⟨135b⟩	= 142
⟨135c⟩	= 155
⟨135d⟩	= 156
136	= 68
137	= 47
138	= 183

L.	§
⟨138a⟩	= 177
139	= 38
140	= 65
141	= 61
⟨143a⟩	= 87
⟨143b⟩	= 153
⟨143c⟩	= 4
⟨143d⟩	= 125
⟨143e⟩	= 127
⟨143f⟩	= 83
⟨143g⟩	= 84
⟨143h⟩	= 130
⟨143i⟩	= 129
⟨143j⟩	= 82
⟨143k⟩	= 6
⟨143l⟩	= 132
⟨143m⟩	= 175
⟨143n⟩	= 131
⟨143o⟩	= 163
⟨143p⟩	= 158
145	= 184
146	= 67
147	= 185

L.	§
148	= 179
149	= 186
149a	= 94
149b	= 137
149c	= 138
⟨149f⟩	= 7
⟨149g⟩	= 151
⟨149h⟩	= 78
⟨149i⟩	= 85
⟨149j⟩	= 13
⟨149k⟩	= 22
⟨149l⟩	= 10
⟨149m⟩	= 169
⟨149o⟩	= 170
⟨149q⟩	= 166
⟨149u⟩	= 161
⟨149v⟩	= 9
⟨149z⟩	= 93
150	= 139
150a	= 140
150b	= 141

CONCORDANCE II

Lüders' palaeographical numbers¹ and §- + L.-numbers.

(Ś = *Śuṅga*, Kṣa = *Kṣatrapa*, K = *Kuṣāṇa*, G = *Gupta*)

3 rd cent. B.C. = §116 : L.14a	K 57 = §12 : L.52a
2 nd cent. B.C. = §91 : L.124r	K 58 = §30 : L.60
Ś 2 = §88 : L.92	K 59 = §31 : L.62
Ś 4 = §168 : L.92a	K 60 = §32 : L.62a
Ś 9 = §159 : L.91f	K 61 = §33 : L.62b
Ś 10 = §160 : L.91h	K 62 = §34 : L.63
Ś 11 = §173 : L.92b	K 63 = §35 : L.64 (= 61, 64a)
Ś 13 = §89 : L.97a	K 64 = §126 : L.41b
Ś 14 = §108—§111 : L.102, c, d, e, e2	K 65 = §37 : L.65
Ś 15 = §83 : L.143f	K 80 = §97 : L.78b
Ś 16 = §139 : L.150	K 81 = §26 : L.79
	K 83 = §124 : L.92c
Kṣa 2 = §64 : L.82	K 86 = §157 : L.79b
Kṣa 3 = §115 : L.82a	K 88 = §172 : L.80b
Kṣa 4 = §113 : L.14	K 89 = §99 : L.80c
Kṣa 8 = §123 : L.77a	K 90 = §98 : L.80d
Kṣa 9 = §25 : L.98	K 91 = §100 : L.80e
Kṣa 12 = §178 : L.85c	K 92 = §101 : L.80f
Kṣa 16 = §72 : L.88	K 94 = §144 : L.81a
Kṣa 17 = §162 : L.89b	K 97 = §69 : L.91j
Kṣa 27 = §122 : L.91d	K 100 = §27 : L.85
Kṣa 28 = §75 : L.91e	K 101 = §95 : L.85a
Kṣa 30 = §176 : L.92d	K 102 = §96 : L.85b
Kṣa 31 = §80 : L.97b	K 103 = §71 : L.91i
Kṣa 32 = §86 : L.97d	K 106 = §5 : L.88a
Kṣa 36 = §1 : L.125a	K 107 = §41 : L.89
Kṣa 37 = §155 : L.135c	K 108 = §76 : L.89a
	K 109 = §3 : L.89e
K 7 = §154 : L.21a	K 110 = §42 : L.90
K 8 = §102 : L.21b	K 111 = §43 : L.91
K 9 = §128 : L.21c	K 112 = §11 : L.91a
K 14 = §150 : L.24a	K 113 = §70 : L.91b
K 20 = §73 : L.29a	K 114 = §148 : L.91c
K 24 = §74 : L.31a	K 115 = §79 : L.97c
K 25 = §136 : L.31b	K 116 = §90 : L.97e
K 27 = §28 : L.33	K 122 = §164 : L.124a
K 33 = §24 : L.38	K 132 = §171 : L.124m
K 35 = §45 : L.40	K 163 = §165 : L.124z
K 37 = §107 : L.41a	K 164 = §143 : L.125b
K 39 = §180 : L.43	K 165 = §2 : L.125c
K 49 = §29 : L.52	K 166 = §66 : L.125d
	K 167 = §146 : L.125f

¹ Cf. above Introductory Note p. 6.

- K 168* = § 147 : *L. 125g*
K 170 = § 149 : *L. 125h*
K 171 = § 77 : *L. 125i*
K 172 = § 145 : *L. 125j*
K 173 = § 55 : *L. 125k*
K 174 = § 44 : *L. 125l*
K 175 = § 52 : *L. 125m*
K 176 = § 53 : *L. 125n*
K 177 = § 58 : *L. 125o*
K 179 = § 63 : *L. 125q*
K 180 = § 54 : *L. 125r*
K 181 = § 47 : *L. 125s*, 137
K 182 = § 48 : *L. 125t*
K 183 = § 49 : *L. 125u*
K 184 = § 51 : *L. 131* (= 125v)
K 185 = § 50 : *L. 125w*
K 186 = § 57 : *L. 125x*
K 187 = § 36 : *L. 125y*
K 188 = § 46 : *L. 126*
K 189 = § 60 : *L. 127*
K 190 = § 62 : *L. 128*
K 191 = § 59 : *L. 129* (= 130?)
K 192 = § 39 : *L. 132*
K 193 = § 40 : *L. 133* (= 134)
K 194 = § 56 : *L. 135*
K 195 = § 142 : *L. 135b*
K 196 = § 68 : *L. 136*
K 197 = § 156 : *L. 135d*
K 203 = § 38 : *L. 139*
K 204 = § 61 : *L. 141*
K 205 = § 87 : *L. 143a*
K 206 = § 153 : *L. 143b*
K 207 = § 4 : *L. 143c*
K 208 = § 125 : *L. 143d*
K 209 = § 127 : *L. 143e*
K 211 = § 84 : *L. 143g*
K 212 = § 130 : *L. 143h*
K 213 = § 129 : *L. 143i*
K 214 = § 82 : *L. 143j*
K 215 = § 6 : *L. 143k*
K 216 = § 132 : *L. 143l*
K 217 = § 175 : *L. 143m*
K 218 = § 131 : *L. 143n*
K 219 = § 163 : *L. 143o*
K 220 = § 158 : *L. 143p*
K 221 = § 94 : *L. 149a*
K 222 = § 137 : *L. 149b*
K 223 = § 138 : *L. 149c*
K 224 = § 7 : *L. 149j*
K 225 = § 151 : *L. 149g*
K 226 = § 85 : *L. 149i*
K 227 = § 13 : *L. 149j*
K 229 = § 169 : *L. 149m*
K 231 = § 166 : *L. 149q*
K 234 = § 93 : *L. 149z*

G 3 = § 8 : *L. 78c*
G 4 = § 167 : *L. 125e*
G 5 = § 65 : *L. 140*
G 6 = § 67 : *L. 146*
G 7 = § 78 : *L. 149h*
G 9 = § 161 : *L. 149u*
G 10 = § 152 : *L. 135a*
G 11 = § 185 : *L. 147*
G 12 = § 179 : *L. 148*
G 13 = § 186 : *L. 149*
G 14 = § 10 : *L. 149l*
G 16 = § 170 : *L. 149o*
G 17 = § 174 : *L. 35b*
G 18 = § 9 : *L. 149v*

CONCORDANCE III

Registration numbers of museums and §- + L.-numbers.¹

Archaeological Museum at Mathurā²

<i>A 1</i> = §1: <i>L.125a</i>	<i>P 21</i> = §47: <i>L.125s, 137</i>
<i>A 2</i> = §135: <i>L.13</i>	<i>P 22</i> = §46: <i>L.126</i>
<i>A 5</i> = §67: <i>L.146</i>	<i>P 23</i> = §44: <i>L.125l</i>
<i>A 21</i> = §87: <i>L.143a</i>	<i>P 24</i> = §51: <i>L.131 (=125v)</i>
<i>A 49</i> = §28: <i>L.33</i>	<i>P 25</i> = §48: <i>L.125t</i>
<i>A 50</i> = §121: <i>L.14b</i>	<i>P 26</i> = §49: <i>L.125u</i>
<i>A 56</i> = §143: <i>L.125b</i>	<i>P 27</i> = §52: <i>L.125m</i>
<i>A 64</i> = §76: <i>L.89a</i>	<i>P 28</i> = §53: <i>L.125n</i>
<i>A 65</i> = §134: <i>L.12a</i>	<i>P 29</i> = §59: <i>L.129 (=130?)</i>
<i>A 66</i> = §2: <i>L.125c</i>	<i>P 30</i> = §63: <i>L.125q</i>
<i>A 71</i> = §103: <i>L.13a</i>	<i>P 31</i> = §55: <i>L.125k</i>
<i>B 31</i> = §23: <i>L.89c</i>	<i>P 32</i> = §54: <i>L.125r</i>
<i>C 1</i> = §139: <i>L.150</i>	<i>P 33</i> = §58: <i>L.125o</i>
<i>C 13</i> = §137: <i>L.149b</i>	<i>P 34</i> = §38: <i>L.139</i>
<i>C 16</i> = §133: <i>L.14e</i>	<i>P 35</i> = §37: <i>L.65</i>
<i>C 21</i> = §12: <i>L.52a</i>	<i>P 36</i> = §57: <i>L.125x</i>
<i>C 28</i> = §104: <i>L.13b</i>	<i>P 37</i> = §50: <i>L.125w</i>
<i>E 20</i> = §114: <i>L.14a</i>	<i>P 38</i> = §32: <i>L.62a</i>
<i>E 25</i> = §107: <i>L.41a</i>	<i>P 39</i> = §36: <i>L.125y</i>
<i>G 10</i> = §66: <i>L.125d</i>	<i>Q 1</i> = §113: <i>L.14</i>
<i>G 39</i> = §144: <i>L.81a</i>	<i>Q 4</i> = §138: <i>L.149c</i>
<i>G 42</i> = §119: <i>L.14d</i>	<i>Q 13</i> = §94: <i>L.149a</i>
<i>G 43</i> = §106: <i>L.15</i>	
<i>G 47</i> = §112: <i>L.14c</i>	<i>121</i> = §150: <i>L.24a</i>
<i>J 1</i> = §11: <i>L.91a</i>	<i>127</i> = §142: <i>L.135b</i>
<i>J 7</i> = §25: <i>L.98</i>	<i>132</i> = §7: <i>L.149f</i>
<i>J 13</i> = §145: <i>L.125j</i>	<i>133</i> = §6: <i>L.143k</i>
<i>J 15</i> = §42: <i>L.90</i>	<i>211</i> = §102: <i>L.21b</i>
<i>J 21</i> = §146: <i>L.125f</i>	<i>212</i> = §100: <i>L.80e</i>
<i>J 36</i> = §147: <i>L.125g</i>	<i>213</i> = §97: <i>L.78b</i>
<i>J 41</i> = §70: <i>L.91b</i>	<i>215</i> = §98: <i>L.80d</i>
<i>J 48</i> = §148: <i>L.91c</i>	<i>260</i> = §89: <i>L.97a</i>
<i>J 52</i> = §149: <i>L.125h</i>	<i>268</i> = §9: <i>L.149v</i>
<i>J 58</i> = §105: <i>L.15a</i>	<i>270</i> = §4: <i>L.143c</i>
<i>J 68</i> = §77: <i>L.125i</i>	<i>272</i> = §5: <i>L.88a</i>
<i>N 1</i> = §68: <i>L.136</i>	<i>276</i> = §13: <i>L.149j</i>
<i>P 20</i> = §33: <i>L.62b</i>	<i>367</i> = §115: <i>L.82a</i>

¹ Cf. above Preface p. 11.

² Cf. V. S. Agrawala, *Cat. Brahm. Images* 1951, p. 106, note: "Antiquities with Nos like C 1, C 3, C 4, were included in Dr. J. Ph. Vogel's Catalogue of the Arch. Museum at Mathurā 1910, and Nos like 122, 123, 124 in the... [handwritten] Accession Register of the Mathurā Museum."

416 = § 3: L. 89e	1610 = § 95: L. 85a
419 = § 10: L. 149l	1611 = § 152: L. 135a
461 = § 80: L. 97b	1612 = § 86: L. 97d
651 = § 111: L. 102e2	1678 = § 108: L. 102c
662 = § 125: L. 143d	1679 = § 109: L. 102d
664 = § 128: L. 21c	1680 = § 110: L. 102e
735 = § 132: L. 143l	1725 = § 83: L. 143f
790 = § 92: L. 124t	2094 = § 96: L. 85b
972 = § 93: L. 149z	2124 = § 78: L. 149h
976 = § 91: L. 124r	2327 = § 153: L. 143b
1211 = § 131: L. 143n	2347 = § 154: L. 21a
1217 = § 130: L. 143h	2605 = § 85: L. 149i
1252 = § 101: L. 80f	2686 = § 155: L. 135c
1263 = § 151: L. 149g	2687 = § 156: L. 135d
1264 = § 141: L. 150b	2740 = § 157: L. 79b
1266 = § 140: L. 150a	2757 = § 158: L. 143p
1315 = § 123: L. 77a	2789 = § 75: L. 91e
1316 = § 124: L. 92c	2790 = § 159: L. 91f
1317 = § 122: L. 91d	2791 = § 160: L. 91h
1346 = § 84: L. 143g	= § 82: L. 143j
1349 = § 22: L. 149k	= § 99: L. 80c
1350 = § 79: L. 97c	= § 116: L. 14aa
1351 = § 90: L. 97e	= § 117: L. 14d 2
1557 = § 74: L. 31a	= § 118: L. 14d 3
1558 = § 73: L. 29a	= § 120: L. 14d 1
1566 = § 127: L. 143e	= § 129: L. 143i
1602 = § 136: L. 31b	

Lucknow Provincial Museum

B 1 = § 26: L. 79	J 26 = § 15: L. 56
B 2 = § 24: L. 38	J 41 = § 165: L. 124z
B 3 = § 29: L. 52	J 50 = § 166: L. 149q
B 10 = § 8: L. 78c	J 55 = § 167: L. 125e
B 18 = § 72: L. 88	J 475 = § 168: L. 92a
B 88 = § 69: L. 91j	J 513 = § 169: L. 149m
B 91 = § 43: L. 91	J 534 = § 170: L. 149o
B 92 = § 71: L. 91i	J 664 = § 171: L. 124m
B 934 = § 161: L. 149u	= § 16: L. 80
E 2 = § 162: L. 89b	= § 17: L. 107b
E 3 = § 163: L. 143o	= § 18: L. 94
E 4 = § 65: L. 140	= § 19: L. 103
E 5 = § 27: L. 85	= § 20: L. 99
E 8 = § 164: L. 124a	= § 21: L. 111
J 19 = § 14: L. 45a	

Indian Museum, Calcutta

M 2a = § 60: L. 127	M 2e = § 35: L. 64 (= 61, 64a)
M 2b = § 39: L. 132	M 2f = § 34: L. 63
M 2c = § 56: L. 135	M 2g = § 62: L. 128
M 2d = § 31: L. 62	M 2h = § 61: L. 141

$M\ 2i = §40 : L.133 (= 134)$	$N.S. 4154 = §174 : L.35b$
$M\ 2j = §45 : L.40$	$N.S. 4158 = §175 : L.143m$
$M\ 9\ (or\ 11) = §41 : L.89$	$N.S. 4247 = §176 : L.92d$
$N.S. 4143 = §172 : L.80b$	$N.S. 4965 = §177 : L.138a$
$N.S. 4145 = §126 : L.41b$	$N.S. 6482 = §178 : L.85c$
$N.S. 4153 = §173 : L.92b$	$= §179 : L.148$

Patnā Museum

$= §81 : L.23b$
 $= §181 : L.93a$

Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay

$= §180 : L.43$

British Museum, London

$1887, 7—17, 53 = §182 : L.23$

Antiquities lost

$§\ 30 : L.60$	$§184 : L.145$
$§\ 64 : L.82$	$§185 : L.147$
$§\ 88 : L.92$	$§186 : L.149$
$§183 : L.138$	$§187 : L.125$

I. INSCRIPTIONS FROM ANCIENT SANCTUARIES
IN THE ENVIRONS OF MATHURĀ

I. INSCRIPTIONS FROM ANCIENT SANCTUARIES IN THE ENVIRONS OF MATHURĀ

1. Kaṭrā Mound

The first regular archaeological exploration at Mathurā was carried out by General Cunningham in 1853 and again in 1862.¹

The Kaṭrā, or market place, is situated to the west of Mathurā City. It is an oblong enclosure measuring 804 feet in length by 653 feet in breadth. Once a magnificent temple of Keśavadeva stood on a high mound in the midst of the Kaṭrā. J.B. Tavernier ranks it with Jagannāth, Benares and Tirupati among the most celebrated pagodas in India.² The temple was pulled down in 1670 by Aurangzeb, who built a *masjid* in its stead which has survived to the present day. The date of the erection of the Keśavadeva temple is not known, but Cunningham's excavations proved that before that time the site was occupied by a Buddhist sanctuary.³

The finds made in 1862 included a standing figure of Buddha discovered in clearing a well at the north-west corner of the temple. It bears an inscription in Gupta characters (§8: L.78c) and seems to be dated in the year 232 of the Gupta era (A. D. 551/552), or in the year 280 (A. D. 599/600).⁴ It records that the statue was the gift of the Śākya nun Jayabhaddā at the Yaśāvihāra. As Yaśā occurs as a female name in the Mathurā inscription §14: L.45a, Yaśāvihāra has probably to be interpreted as the *vihāra* founded by a lady of the name Yaśā.

But there appears to have been a Buddhist *vihāra* on the Kaṭrā site already at the beginning of the second century A. D. There is a statuette of a Bodhisattva in the Mathurā Museum purchased by Pandit Radha Krishna from a Brahman who is said to have found it in digging a well on the Kaṭrā site. A Prakrit inscription (§1: L.125a) in characters of the early Kuṣāṇ period on the pedestal states that the image was set up by a certain Amohāāsī, the mother of Buddharakkhita, in her own

¹ ASI [Ann.] Rep. 1. 1871, p. 235ff.; 3. 1873, p. 14ff.

² Tavernier, *Travels in India*, transl. from the French edition of 1676 by Ball, vol. 1 (1889), p. 104f.; vol. 2, p. 240ff. The temple is noticed also by Bernier, *Voyages*, Amsterdam 1699, vol. 2, p. 76, and by Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, transl. by Irvine, vol. 1 (1907), p. 299.

³ A stone with a fragmentary inscription of the time of the Gupta king Candragupta II (CII 3, p. 25ff. No 4) was found already in 1853, but nothing can be made out about the purport of the record.

⁴ [Cf. below p. 35, note 3.]

vihāra. Whether Amohāāsī's *vihāra* was replaced by the Yaśāvihāra or whether the two *vihāras* existed side by side cannot be decided. —

In 1896 excavations on the Kaṭrā site were resumed by Führer who reported to have discovered fragments belonging to a Buddhist Stūpa and a portion of the procession-path on the pavement of which there was an inscription stating that the Stūpa had been repaired in S. 76 by the Kuṣān king Vasuṣka.¹ This inscription was never published nor are there estampages or photographs of it in existence. In 1911/12 Pandit Radha Krishna tried to recover it, but his endeavours were in vain. On the spot indicated only the remains of a brick Stūpa came to light, but according to Vogel this monument cannot be assigned to a date earlier than about the sixth century A. D. The numerous sculptural fragments also that were recovered in the course of the excavation are mostly of a late date and appear to belong to the Keśavadeva [Kesab Dev] temple.² Considering the well-known untrustworthiness of Führer's reports, there can be no doubt that the Vasuṣka inscription is only a product of his imagination. — During the last years only few objects with Brāhmī inscriptions have been acquired from the Kaṭrā mound.

The inscriptions §3: L. 89e, §4: L. 143c, §5: L. 88a, §6: L. 143k, §7: L. 149f belong to the time of the Kuṣān rule; §8: L. 78c, §9: L. 149v, §10: L. 149l are of the Gupta period. All of them originate or may originate from some Buddhist establishment, with the exception of §9: L. 149v, which is engraved in Gupta characters on the pedestal of a statuette of Rṣabha, the first Tirthaṃkara. It is, of course, not impossible that in Gupta times there was also a Jaina shrine on the Kaṭrā site, but considering that the statuette is the only Jaina object that has turned up at that place until now, the possibility that the statement about its place of discovery is erroneous, or that it was transferred in later times from the Kaṅkāli Ṭilā, does not seem to be beyond question.

125a

Facsimiles: below p. 261

§ 1

Kṣa 36

Inscription on the pedestal of the statue of a seated Bodhisattva in black sandstone, said to have been found by a Brahman in digging a well on the Kaṭrā site, now in the Mathurā Museum. The first two lines are engraved on the upper rim, the third on the lower rim.

It was published by Vogel in a preliminary note, Ann. Progr. Rep. of the Superint. Arch. Survey, Northern Circle 1907/08°, p. 37, edited

¹ Ann. Progr. Rep. of the Arch. Survey, Circle North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 30th, June, 1906°, p. 1f. The passage regarding the excavations of the Kaṭrā site has been reprinted in Vogel's Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 17f.

² ASI Ann. Rep. 1911/12, 1. 1914, p. 16f.; ditto, 1911/12, 2. 1915, p. 131f.

by him in the Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 47f. (A 1), where also a photo-type of the statue is given (pl. 7), and again ASI Ann. Rep. 1909/10, 2. 1914, p. 63f., with reproductions of the statue (pl. 23a), and of lines 1 and 3 of the inscription (pl. 29, 1a—b). The statue was figured also by Bachhofer, Frühind. Plastik/Early Ind. Sculpture 1929, pl. 81, by Vogel, Sculpture de Mathurā 1930, pl. 26a, etc.

TEXT

- 1 Budharakhitasa mātare Amohāāsiye Bodhisaco paṭiṭhāpito
- 2 sāhā mātāpitihi sake vihāre
- 3 savasatvānā[m]¹ hitasukhāye

TRANSLATION

By Amohāāsi (*Amoghādāsī*²), the mother of Budharakhita (*Buddharakṣita*), the Bodhisattva was set up together with her parents in her own *vihāra* for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

125c

Facsimile: below p. 261

§ 2

K 165

Fragmentary inscription on the pedestal of a seated Bodhisattva, now in the Mathurā Museum. The image was obtained by Pandit Radha Krishna from a shrine known as Galatēsvar Mahādēv Maṭh near the Kaṭrā where it was inserted in a wall. It is said to have been dug up from a small mound in the neighbourhood.

Of the image only the left leg with the left hand resting on it and the lower part of an attendant standing on the left side remain. The pedestal was divided into three compartments. Only the proper left half of the central compartment, showing a female worshipper turned to the right and a winged lion, and the proper left outer compartment are preserved. The inscription was incised on the upper (line 1) and lower (line 2) rims of the central compartment and continued on the two upper rims (lines 3 and 4) and the middle portion (lines 5 and 6) of the outer compartment.

It was edited by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 63 (A 66), and ASI Ann. Rep. 1909/10, 2. 1914, p. 65f. with reproductions of the image on p. 66, fig. 2, and of the inscription on pl. 29, 4.

¹ On the reverse of the impression a vertical line can be discerned on the edge of the rim a little to the right of the *nā* and nearly touching the *i*-sign of the following *hi*. It may be meant for the *anusvāra*.

² [In the Manuscript Lüders wrote *Amohādāsī*. — Compare his remarks § 88: L. 92.]

TEXT

- 1 ///.. kaye¹ Naṃdāye kṣatrapa[sa]²///
 2 ///(Bo)dhisat[v]a visa .. t[a] .e³ (..)///
 3 savasatānaṃ⁴ hitasu(khā)-
 4 rtha(m)
 5 Śāvasthidiyānaṃ⁵
 6 prariḡrhe⁶

TRANSLATION

... (the gift) of the ... Naṃdā, of (?) the *kṣatrapa* ... a Bodhisattva ... for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings for the acceptance of the Śāvasthidiyas (*Sarvāstivādins*).

Owing to the mutilated state of the inscription, no coherent translation is possible, but it probably recorded the gift of a statue of a Bodhisattva. The meaning of the last word of the second line escapes me.

The spelling of the last two words is uncommonly faulty. They appear to be an attempt to Sanskritise the Prakrit formula *Śāvasthivādiyānaṃ pariḡrahe*. Such bad Sanskrit is rarely found in inscriptions previous to Kuṣān times.

The characters are of the archaic type, but not quite as neat as usual in inscriptions of the Kṣatrapa period.

⟨89e⟩

Facsimile: below p. 261

§ 3

K 109

Fragmentary inscription on the proper left side of a pedestal of a Buddha image with three standing figures and a defaced lion, from the Kaṭrā mound well, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 416).

¹ Vogel restores the word as [*upāsi*]kaye, but what is left of the *akṣara* preceding the *ka* does not agree with *si*.

² The last letter may have been *syā*.

³ The dot to the right of *vi* is probably accidental. Vogel reads *visa—ta[re]*, but the reading [*re*] is very doubtful, and there was certainly at least one more *akṣara*, possibly *to*, at the end of the line. [The reproduction of the pedestal in the Ann. Rep. (fig. 2) shows a few injuries of the stone immediately after *visa*. To the right of the *sa* there seems to be engraved a long vertical stroke with a curved line over it and, on its lower part, probably a stroke to the right straight down. — It seems possible that the two strokes to the left above the following *t[a]* are not accidental. Judging from fig. 2 the last *akṣara* was *ke*, damaged a little only in its left part. From the above mentioned reproduction it appears that after *.e* the rim is damaged by knocking off a small piece of the stone.]

⁴ Vogel: *savasatānaṃ*.

⁵ Vogel: *Śāvasthī[*vā]diyānaṃ*.

⁶ Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math.: *pariḡrhe*, Ann. Rep.: *prariḡrhe*. The latter reading is absolutely certain.

TEXT

- 1 ///.. Śāk[y](a)[s](i)¹ ..///
 2 t. sārva[a]satāna²
 3 h[i]tasukhaye

TRANSLATION

.... (an image of) Śākyasi(ha) (*Śākyasiṃha*) (?) (was set up) for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

⟨143c⟩*

§ 4

K 207

Fragmentary inscription on the upper and lower rims and on the proper left side of the pedestal of a Buddha image of which only the feet are preserved. The sculpture comes from the Kaṭrā mound and is now in the Mathurā Museum (No 270).

The inscription was edited by V. S. Agrawala, JUPHS 10. 1937, p. 4 No 5.

TEXT

- 1 bhagavato Ś[ā]kya munisya³ pratimā pratiṣṭhāpitā
 2⁴ nā
 3 pitramātrabha

TRANSLATION

The image of the holy Śākyamuni has been set up by (the monk).....

⟨88a⟩

Facsimile: below p. 262

§ 5

K 106

Fragmentary inscription on a pedestal from the Kaṭrā mound, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 272). It is almost entirely obliterated. Lines 1 and 2 are engraved on the upper rim, lines 3 and 4 on the lower rim.

TEXT

- 1 ///..[nta]mās[e 2 di]///
 2 ///..ṃ .. si///

¹ On the reverse of the impression traces of a tripartite subscript -ya are visible. The *i*-sign is not certain. May we restore *Śākyasiṃhasya*?

² There seems to be no *anusvāra* on the top of the *na*.

³ The *ā*-sign of the first *akṣara* is not certain.

⁴ With the exception of one letter the line on the lower rim is now illegible.

3 ta e[tehi]
 4 [na]ṃ

The inscription appears to have been dated, and the date of the month may have been the 2nd month of winter. Nothing can be said as regards its contents.

⟨143k⟩*

§ 6

K 215

Inscription on a sculpture showing an attendant with a big belly wearing a garland, from the Kaṭrā mound, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 133).

TEXT

daḥṣi¹

No sense can be discerned.

⟨149f⟩*

§ 7

K 224

Fragmentary inscription on a small piece of stone from the Kaṭrā mound, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 132).

The record was edited by V. S. Agrawala, JUPHS 10.1937, p. 4f. No 7c.

TEXT

... sya prāvāri

Prāvāri is certainly to be restored to some form of *prāvārika*, probably *prāvārikasya* 'of the cloakmaker'.

⟨78c⟩

Facsimile: below p. 262

§ 8

G 3

Inscription on the pedestal of a standing figure of Buddha discovered by Cunningham in clearing out a well at the Kaṭrā mound. The statue is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum (B 10).

The inscription was first noticed by Cunningham, ASI [Ann.] Rep. 1. 1871, p. 238. It was edited by Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 185 No 9 + pl., by Cunningham, ASI [Ann.] Rep. 3. 1873, p. 37 No 23 + pl. 16, by Fleet, CII 3. 1888, p. 273f. No 70 + pl. 40D.

¹ There was probably a second line of writing.

TEXT

- 1 deyadharmo=yaṃ Yaśāvihāre Śākyabhikṣuṇyār¹-Jayabhaṭṭā-
yār=yad=atra puṇya[m] tad=bhavatu sar[v]vasa-²
2 t[v]a[na]m=an[u]t[t]arajñānāvāptaye — samvatsaraḥ 200 [80] —³

TRANSLATION

This is the pious gift of the Śākya nun Jayabhaṭṭā at the Yaśāvihāra. What merit there is in this (gift), let it be for the attainment of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings. The year 280.

Perhaps Fleet was right in referring the date of the inscription to the Gupta era. Although the script would seem to be earlier than A. D. 599/600.

⟨149v⟩*

§ 9

G 18

Inscription on the pedestal of a Jaina Tirthaṃkara, said to have been found in the Kaṭrā mound⁴, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 268). The record is engraved in Gupta characters to the right and left of a wheel.

TEXT

- 1 siddham — Rṣabhasya pratimā . Samu[d]r[a]-⁵
2 Sāgarābhyāṃ Saṅgārakasya
3 dattī — Sagarasya⁶ pratimā

TRANSLATION

Success! An image of Rṣabha, the gift of Saṅgāraka to Samudra and Sāgara. The image of Sāgara (*Sāgara?*).

¹ Fleet: -bhikṣuṇyār-, but the ā-sign is quite distinct.

² The first -va- in the ligature rvva is not quite certain.

³ Dowson and Cunningham, taking the last horizontal stroke as the symbol 1, read the date as 281. Fleet was of the opinion that the numerical symbols were 200 30, followed by the sign of punctuation.

As the horizontal stroke undoubtedly is used to mark the end of the inscription, it is probable that it serves the same purpose also after the date. But I am by no means sure that the second figure is meant for 30. There is a distinct semi-circle attached to the right of the supposed symbol for 80 in the Udayagiri cave inscription dated from the year 82 (CII 3, p. 21ff. No 3). The only difference is that the left loop, by omitting the bottom line, is turned into a hook. But exactly the same alteration has taken place in the ya of deyadharmo and Jaya as compared with the rest of the ya-signs. Under these circumstances I have ventured to read the figure as 80.

⁴ [Cf. above p. 30.]

⁵ After pratimā there is a dot. There may have been an ā-sign at the top of the sa in Samu[d]r[a]. The da- of [d]r[a] is discernible on the reverse of the impression.

⁶ The sa has no ā-sign.

Although the letters of the inscription are pretty clear and the words can hardly be translated differently, the text is puzzling. Who are Samudra and Sāgara to whom Saṅgāraka gave the image of Rṣabha, the first Tirthaṅkara, and why is the image in an additional note stated to be the image of Sāgara who, in spite of the slight difference in the spelling of the name, appears to be identical with the Sāgara mentioned before? I am unable to answer these questions.

(1491)*

§ 10

G 14

Inscription on a piece of stone originating from the Kaṭrā mound, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 419).

This is a most peculiar inscription. It consists of four exceptionally large letters placed between two horizontal lines which, judging from the bead at the left end of the lower line, originally were joined at both ends in such a way as to form a sort of cartouche for the writing.

The first two letters are almost completely destroyed. Then follows an *akṣara* which looks like *kṣā*, but with the subscript *-ṣa* attached to the left side of the *ka*. This position of the *-ṣa* suggests at once that the inscription is incised in reversed writing, and on this supposition the next enigmatical letter would also become intelligible. It would be a *ma* of the Gupta period with the *o*-sign. The *mo* was followed by two more letters which can hardly be deciphered.

We thus arrive at the reading [... *kṣā mo* ..., i. e.:]

... mokṣi ...

If my explanation of the nature of this writing is accepted, the stone would seem to have been used as a stamp or die.

2. Bhūtēsar Mound

There is a hill south of the Kaṭrā which is generally named the Bhūtēsar mound after the modern temple of Bhūtēsar situated on its southern side.

In the season 1871/72 Cunningham acquired five of the famous railing pillars from the verandah of a *dharmśālā* near the temple. They are ornamented on the obverse with female figures standing on dwarfs and on the reverse with reliefs representing Jātakas and scenes of Buddha's life.¹ Cunningham states that they were believed to have been discovered

¹ ASI [Ann.] Rep. 3. 1873, p. 20f. A sixth pillar has been presented already before 1847 by Colonel L. R. Stacy to the Asiatic Society's Museum, Calcutta (Kittoe, JASB 16, 1. 1847, p. 335; cf. Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 142) and a seventh was discovered by Pandit Radha Krishna inside the Mahōli Gate of Mathurā City; see Vogel, op. cit., p. 157 (J 71). — There are also some fragments

in the Bhūtēsār mound, and it is indeed very probable if the mound is the site of a Buddhist Stūpa of which those railing pillars formed part.

A railing pillar of unusual large dimensions stood on the top of the hill in front of the entrance to the temple. It was removed by Growse and is now in the Mathurā Museum (J 1).¹ The pillar is carved in front with a female figure and a bas-relief probably representing some Jātaka. — On one side of it there is a sign (inscription §11: L. 91a) which Cunningham took to be “the Arian letter *h*, which was the figure for 100, in use at Mathurā during the Indo-Scythian period”, and he inferred from it that there must have been no less than a 100 of these large pillars. — Granting that there is a certain resemblance of the sign to a Kharoṣṭhī *ha*, there is not the slightest evidence for the use of that letter as the symbol for 100. Vogel (Cat. Mus. Math., p. 141 J 1) is inclined to look at the sign as the numeral 30. I do not see how that would be possible, the sign in question showing little likeness to the ordinary figure for 30. If it is a letter at all, it may be *ṭe*. It is probably a mason’s mark that has no connection with the number of the pillars.

There are only two objects with inscriptions in Kuṣān characters which are supposed to originate from the Bhūtēsār mound, but neither of them seem to have been found *in situ* and neither of them is Buddhist, so they cannot tell anything about the age of the Buddhist structure.

The inscription §12: L. 52a is engraved on the base of a Nāga statuette which was acquired from a shrine in Mathurā City, but is said to have been found in the Bhūtēsār mound. That means that there may have been a Nāga shrine on the spot.

The inscription §13: L. 149j, according to information by the Curator of the Mathurā Museum, also comes from the Bhūtēsār locality. It is on the pedestal of a Jina image. The wording of the inscription is exactly the same as that of the Jaina records from the Kaṅkāli Ṭilā, and although it cannot be proved, I have little doubt in this case that the image originally was set up in the Jaina sanctuary in the immediate vicinity of the Bhūtēsār Stūpa.

91a

Facsimile: below p. 262

§ 11

K 112

Inscription on a railing pillar from the Bhūtēsār mound, now in the Mathurā Museum (J 1).

of pillars that may have belonged to the Bhūtēsār railing, and Vogel (op. cit., p. 142) thinks it possible that the fragment J 52 bearing the inscription §149: L. 125h is one of them. But this is rather doubtful, since no inscription is found on any of the complete Bhūtēsār railing pillars.

¹ Cunningham, ASI [Ann.] Rep. 3. 1873, p. 21f.; Growse, Mathurā² 1880, p. 111f.; Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 141.

It was edited by Cunningham, ASI [Ann.] Rep. 3. 1873, p. 21f., and Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 141.

[ṭe]

The reading is very doubtful; see the remarks above.

52a

Facsimile: below p. 262

§ 12

K 57

Inscription on the base of a statuette of a standing Nāga, which was being worshipped as Dhāuji, i. e. Baladeva in a shrine near the Jama' Mosque in Mathurā City and is said to have been found in the Bhūtēsār mound. The image is now in the Mathurā Museum.

The record was mentioned by Vogel, JRAS 1911, p. 150f. who edited it, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 91 (C 21), and ASI Ann. Rep. 1908/09. 1912, p. 161 + pl. 54a. The image was figured by him in his Sculpture de Mathurā 1930, pl. 41d.

TEXT

— sam 50 2 v[a] 3 d[i] 20 5 bhagava[to]¹

TRANSLATION

In the year 52, in the 3rd (month) of the rainy season, on the 25th day, (the image) of the holy one.

⟨149j⟩*

§ 13

K 227

Fragmentary inscription engraved on the upper rim and on the lower rim of a broken pedestal of a quadruple Jina image, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 276). [Of the upper rim (with line A of the inscription) only the front face (with A 2), a portion of the proper right face (with A 1), and of the proper left face (with A 3) are preserved. The legible portion of the inscription on the lower rim (B) is incised on the proper right side of the pedestal.]

The stone is said to come from the Bhūtēsār locality, but as the Bhūtēsār mound is close to the Kaṅkāli Ṭilā, there can be little doubt that it originally belonged to the Jaina establishment of the Kaṅkāli Ṭilā.² The inscription was edited by Vogel, ASI Ann. Rep. 1911/12, 1. 1914, p. 17, ditto, 1911/12, 2. 1915, p. 133,³ and by V. S. Agrawala, JUPHS 10. 1937, p. 1 No 1.

¹ Vogel reads *bhagava[ta]*, but the o-sign of [ʿo] is probable. Mr. Dikshit states that there was no more writing.

² [Cf. above p. 37.] ³ The first of the two editions yields the better reading.

TEXT

- A 1 khāto¹ vāca[ka]-
 2 [s]ya ayya-Rṣidāsasya² nirvarttanā³ Ābhisārakasya⁴ Bhaṭṭi-
 dāmasya mā⁵
 3 kākā⁶
 B sa . . s[v]at.

TRANSLATION

A. At the request of the preacher, the venerable Rṣidāsa out of the *śākhā* (the quadruple image of Jina was given by) the mother (?) of Bhaṭṭidāma, the Ābhisāraka (native of Abhisāra).

As regards the country of Abhisāra, I refer to Stein's Translation of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī (1900), note on Taraṅga 1, 180, and the literature quoted there.

3. Kaṅkālī Tīlā

[⁷ About a quarter of a mile south of the Bhūtēsar mound is the Kaṅkālī Tīlā, which was explored at different times by Harding,⁸ Cunningham, Growse, Burgess, and by Führer from about 1870 to 1896.

Cunningham, excavating there especially in 1871, gave a description of the hill,⁹ the higher portion of which at that time "had been repeatedly burrowed for bricks": The "mound (was) 400 feet in length from west to east, and nearly 300 feet in breadth, with a mean height of 10 or 12

¹ Agrawala: *vrto*. The *khā* is quite distinct. Restore: (*śā*)*khāto*.

² Vogel and Agrawala: *āryya*. The first letter has no sign of length. — Agrawala: *Rṣadāsasya*. The *i*-sign of *ṣi* is distinct.

³ Agrawala: *nirvartanā*. The third *akṣara* is clearly *rtta*.

⁴ Vogel: *nā . . . rakasya*; Agrawala: *Ābhisārikasya*. There is no *i*-sign on the top of the *ra*.

⁵ Probably to be restored to some form of *mātr*.

⁶ Agrawala read: *kī* [and placed it at the beginning of the line]. I cannot determine how many letters are lost between *mā* and *kā*. If *kā* stands at the end of the line [!], the passage is probably to be restored to (*pratimā sarvatoḥhadri*)*kā*.

⁷ Together with most of the author's treatments of inscriptions from the K. T., his preface to the present chapter is also missing in the Manuscript (cf. above p. 8 with notes). — The following remarks have been supplied by the editor. They are above all intended as a brief survey of the history of the archaeological operations at the K. T. site, with references to the principal editions of the inscriptions found there, etc.

⁸ (After excavating in the Jamālpur mound,) "Mr. Harding, Magistrate of Mathurā, . . . dug a trench right across the Kaṅkālī mound from north to south, which yielded some mutilated Buddhist statues, both life-size and colossal [cf. below p. 40, n. 4]", Cunningham, ASI [Ann.] Rep. 3. 1873, p. 16.

⁹ ASI [Ann.] Rep. 3. 1873, p. 19.

feet above the fields. At the eastern end¹ it (rose) to a height of 25 feet, with a breadth of 60 feet square at top, and about 150 square at base."²

Growse, who trenched the Kaṅkāli Tīlā in 1873/74, reported³ that "a fragment of a carved Buddhist [?] pillar (was) set up in a mean little shed on its summit and (did) duty for the goddess Kaṅkāli, to whom (the mound was) dedicated". He mentioned that occasionally the hill was called the Jainī Tīlā without giving further references.

That this second name was not an accidental one was proved by all excavations in the mound, which yielded hitherto almost without exception⁴ pure Jaina monuments, and it appeared, as was expressed already by Cunningham,⁵ that under the mound was once the site of an ancient and very important Jaina establishment.

In January and February 1888 at Bühler's request, Burgess began the principal explorations of the Kaṅkāli Tīlā.⁶ The excavations were resumed by Führer in Jan./Febr. 1889,⁷ continued in Jan./Febr. 1890,⁸ and finished by him for the time being in the period from Nov. 1890 to Febr. 1891.⁹ He worked again at the Kaṅkāli Tīlā in the spring of 1896.¹⁰

The interesting results of the former explorations, yielding important Jaina antiquities and inscriptions, were by far surpassed by those of the extended excavations carried out from 1888 to 1896. In the course of these operations the remains of several buildings, especially of two Jaina temples and of a great Jaina Stūpa, were exposed. The great

¹ At that place later on Führer discovered the Jaina brick Stūpa (cf. below p. 41).

² Cf. below p. 255, Map 2 (G).

³ Growse, Mathurā 1874 Pt 1, p. 76f., Pt 2, p. 175f., Mathurā² 1880, p. 108.

⁴ (Cf. also Lüders, below p. 60, n. 3; 179; 180; 189. —) Growse, Mathurā 1874 Pt 1, p. 76, reported that two colossal Buddha statues had been discovered in the K. T. [cf. above p. 39, n. 8], "which are now in the grounds of the Agra Museum". He repeated the same passage in Mathurā² 1880, p. 108, where without further comment he corrected himself, writing: which "are probably now in the Allahabad Museum". Showing in this way his uncertainty as to the whereabouts of the statues, Growse did not mention the name of the discoverer. Reading his next sentence one may feel inclined to doubt whether these Buddha statues had been really discovered in the K. T.; Growse continued as follows: "Whatever else was found was collected on the same spot as the remains from the [Buddhist sanctuary at the] Jamālpur mound, and it is therefore possible, as no accurate note was made at the time, that some of the specimens referred to the latter locality were not really found there [and vice versa, cf. i. g. below p. 59, n. 1]; but there is no doubt as to the inscriptions, and this is the only point of any importance."

⁵ Cf. ASI [Ann.] Rep. 17. 1884, p. 111.

⁶ Cf. The Academy 33. 1888, p. 155, WZKM 2. 1888, p. 141.

⁷ Cf. The Academy 35. 1889, p. 381, WZKM 3. 1889, p. 233.

⁸ Cf. The Academy 37. 1890, p. 270f., WZKM 4. 1890, p. 169, p. 313f.

⁹ Cf. The Academy 39. 1891, p. 141f., p. 373f., WZKM 5. 1891, p. 59, p. 175.

¹⁰ Cf. The Academy 49. 1896, p. 367, WZKM 10. 1896, p. 171. — (Cf. also Bühler, Transactions of the 9. Intern. Congress of Orientalists at London . . . 1892, vol. 1. 1893, p. 221.)

quantity¹ of architectural pieces, mostly beautifully carved, and the numerous Jaina statues, stone slabs, etc., often inscribed, which were unearthed at the site, were for the most part forwarded to the Lucknow Provincial Museum,² or placed in the grounds of the Mathurā Museum.³

Unfortunately no record of all these operations has ever been published, so there is almost no proof as to the exact finding places of the objects of the Kaṅkālī Tīlā.⁴

Führer, who had already announced a monograph on the Jaina remains at Mathurā in an advanced stage of preparation,⁵ left only 102 plates without a word of explanatory text when he quitted the service of the Government in 1898.⁶ It was V. A. Smith who, in 1901, edited these plates after being consulted by Sir Antony MacDonnell,⁷ "with a concise descriptive text, a short introduction, and references to . . . previous publications in which the subjects of them had been treated".⁸

Smith published as Plate I "a General Plan" of the excavated part of the Kaṅkālī Tīlā, showing the remains of a great number of buildings. These, however, can not be identified with exception of the foundations of the great Jaina brick Stūpa, situated at the eastern end of the site.^{8;9} — That there was within the precincts a Jaina Stūpa already in very ancient times seems to be expressed by the inscription List No 47,

¹ The discoveries of the work done in 1890 which were sent to the Museum at Lucknow, Führer seems to have counted especially by their weight; Bühler reporting on a letter of Führer's in *The Academy* 37. 1890, p. 270f. (WZKM 4. 1890, p. 169) stated that there had been forwarded to that museum "(608 maunds or) about a ton and a quarter of archaeological specimens".

² Cf. i. g. *Ep. Ind.* 10. 1909/10, p. 106f., and below note 6.

³ Cf. Vogel, *Cat. Mus. Math.* 1910, p. 11; p. 66ff.

⁴ Bühler in his editions of inscriptions from the K. T. in the *Epigraphia Indica* 1. 1892 made brief and mostly vague notes concerning the places of discovery of the objects bearing the records.

⁵ Cf. also *The Academy* 37. 1890, p. 271^a, WZKM 4. 1890, p. 169. — In his *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (1891), p. 105f., Führer dedicated a short paragraph to the K. T. which, however, is not free from inaccuracies. Vogel, *Cat. Mus. Math.* 1910, p. VIII, mentioned an "Abstract from an unpublished report on (the) Mathurā excavations (carried out by Führer)", published by the latter in: *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* 5. 1894°, p. 58 + pl. 85—87.

⁶ Cf. p. III of the edition: V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, 1901. — The book was reviewed by Foucher, *BEFEO* 1. 1901, p. 375f. (He stated that he himself saw in the Museum at Lucknow the archaeological specimens figuring on the plates. Cf. also Smith, loc. cit.)

⁷ Cf. below p. 42, n. 5, end.

⁸ Cf. above p. 40, n. 1.

⁹ "The materials for preparing a key to the plate are not now in existence" (Smith, op. cit., pl. I). In the letter just mentioned (cf. above note 1) Führer wrote to Bühler that to the west of the Stūpa, i. e. in the centre of the site, there were situated the remains of what he called the Śvetāmbara temple, and that to the west of these remains there was a second large temple which in Führer's opinion belonged "to the Digambara sect".

dated by Lüders in S. 49 (of the King Huviṣka¹). This Stūpa was described in the record as 'built by the gods (or: by a god)²', 'i. e. (it was) so ancient at the time when the inscription was incised (that) its origin had been forgotten'.³

From the inscriptions, found at the site, it appears that at the Kaṅkāli Tīlā there was a Jaina sanctuary from the period of the Śuṅga dynasty⁴; ⁵ up to the time after the sack of Mathurā by Mahmūd of Ghaznī.⁶

Most of the epigraphs from the Kaṅkāli Tīlā site⁷ had been treated by Bühler⁸ who published, together with his editions in the *Epigraphia*

¹ Cf. Ep. Ind. 9. 1907/08, p. 245.

² *thupe d[e]jvanī[r]māt[e]j*; cf. the facsimile in Ep. Ind. 2. 1894(, p. 204) No 20.

³ Bühler, WZKM 5. 1891, p. 61. Cf. also Bühler, A Legend of the Jaina Stūpa at Mathurā, Sitzungsber. d. K. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, Phil.-hist. Cl. 137 (1897), 2. 1898, p. 1—14 (extract: Ind. Ant. 27. 1898, p. 49—54); Schubring, Lehre der Jainas 1935, p. 37.

⁴ For palaeographical reasons the inscription List No 93 (see also below p. 50) was assigned by Bühler "to about 150 B.C." (WZKM 5. 1891, p. 175; Ep. Ind. 2. 1894, p. 195), written in the "Śuṅga type of the ancient Brāhmī" (Bühler, Ind. Palaeographie/Ind. Paleography, 1896/1904, § 15,5; § 18 + pl. II, 20). (Cf. also the inscription below § 20. L. 99.)

⁵ J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, referring in her book "The 'Scythian' Period", 1949, p. 147, to »the first proof of the existence of Jainism« did not discuss the inscription List No 93 (and L. 99). In her opinion the earliest Jaina record is the record List No 59 (from the K. T.), dated *sv[ā]misa mahakṣat[t]rapasa Śoḍā-sasa sa[m]vatsare 72*. — Incised on a stone slab, showing a beautiful lady with female attendants in relief, the record List No 59 states: . . . [Ā]mohiniye . . . Ārya-vatī pratihāpitā . . . Āry[a]vat[i] arahatapujāye. Mrs. van Lohuizen took *ārya-vat[i]* not as the personal name of the lady, but — ad hoc inventing an »*āryaga-vatī*« — she identified the word with *āyāgapaṭa*! »For when the verb [Skt.:] *pratiṣṭhāpay[-]* is used and the object is an image of some god or the Buddha [or the like], the word [Skt.:] *pratimā* is always added.« This statement can also not be accepted; cf. pl. 19, 32 of the book in question showing the inscription List No 125a (= § 1 of the present work) with the words: *Bodhisaco patiṣṭhāpito*, cf. also op. cit., pl. 21, 34 with L. 88 (= § 72), L. 38 (= § 24), etc., etc. — It must be stated here that there are some more errors on p. 147 of van Lohuizen's "The 'Scythian' Period"; e. g.: note 8 (wrong; Pischel, Gramm. § 149[!] = *Schwurund von ya und va*!); »a number of āyāgapaṭas have been found again by V. Smith at K. T. near Mathurā, together with many other Jainistic relics« (wrong; Smith published the plates[!], which were prepared by Führer, after being consulted by the Lt.-Gov. of the NW. Prov. and Ch. Comr. of Oudh; cf. also above p. 41 with notes 2, 3, and 6!).

⁶ Cf. Smith, The Jain Stūpa 1901, pl. 96: Colossal image of a seated Tīrtham-kara with a record, dated in V. S. 1134. On the lower portion of a Jina figure from the K. T. (Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 72 B 24) there is a Nāgarī inscription parts of which are preserved; the inscription seems to be dated in V. S. 1234; cf. Growse, Mathurā³ 1880, pl. facing p. 114, line 3 (= Ind. Ant. 6. 1877, p. 219, No 10 + pl.).

⁷ For the older editions of inscriptions from the K. T. cf. WZKM 4. 1890, p. 314. The complete bibliography of every record (up to the year 1912) was published by Lüders in his List of Brāhmī Inscriptions.

⁸ Based on the readings of inscriptions found at the K. T. site (A.), Bühler investigated a number of treatises on "the Authenticity of the Jaina Tradition"

Indica, vol. 1—2, facsimiles of nearly all impressions^{1,2} forwarded to him by Burgess and Führer.³

In the Museums, especially at Lucknow and Mathurā, there are numerous (often inscribed) Jaina antiquities from Mathurā of more or less uncertain origin which may belong in the majority of instances also to the sanctuary of the Kaṅkāli Tīlā site. They may partly have been excavated in the course of the above-mentioned operations, partly carried off by the inhabitants of the region (after the decay of the ancient sanctuary) from the Kaṅkāli Tīlā to their recent places of discovery in the City or in the environs of Mathurā. Examinations of the collections especially of the Lucknow⁴ and the Mathurā⁵ Museums yielded several inscriptions just characterized.⁶

Lüders, preparing his List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, revised inter alia also several of the previously edited records from the Kaṅkāli Tīlā and published his results as "Epigraphical Notes" in the Indian Antiquary 33. 1904. Dealing occasionally since that time with inscriptions from the site, he apparently made use of his materials collected for the intended volume of Brāhmī Inscriptions.

and came to the conclusion that these records prove "the correctness of a not inconsiderable part of the [»]larger list[«] of teachers and schools (etc.), preserved in the Sthavirāvali of the Kalpasūtra" (B.). — [A.: ASI [Ann.] Rep. 3. 1873, p. 29ff. + pl. 13—15 (Bühler was also furnished with original rubbings of Cunningham), and WZKM 1—4 (cf. also 5, 10, Ep. Ind. 1). B.: WZKM 1. 1887 (p. 168f.), and 2—4 (cf. also 5, 10, Ep. Ind. 1—2; — Schubring, Lehre der Jainas 1935, p. 35).]

¹ Bühler excepted "either very small fragments . . . or (rubbings) not readable with any certainty" (Ep. Ind. 2. 1894, p. 195, n. 1).

² Using the facsimiles just mentioned, the following words of Fleet (JRAS 1903, p. 327) must be borne in mind. When he compared the lithograph of the inscription List No 47 in the Ep. Ind. 2. 1894, p. 204 No 20 with the plate showing the base of the image, op. cit., pl. opposite p. 321 (cf. also Bachhofer, Frühind. Plastik 1929, p. 87) he came to the following statement: "And it must be incidentally remarked that a comparison of the lithograph with the photographic reproduction raises at once considerable doubt as to whether, in the lithographs of this series, we have actual facsimiles of the ink-impressions or only results which have been modified by manipulation of the ink-impressions or of the proofs from them . . ." — Cf. also (List No 59 =) Ep. Ind. 2. 1894, p. 199 No 2 + pl., line 3: the name of the donatrix was transcribed by Bühler in correspondence with the facsimile in the Ep. Ind. as *Amohiniye*. But, examining the photograph of the slab itself (cf. Bachhofer, op. cit., pl. 74), the name seems to be written as *Āmohiniye*; compare the initial *ā* with the *ā*- in the two other instances of *Āryavat[ī]* (see above p. 42, n. 5).

³ "Dr. Führer, 'Progress Report' for 1890/91, p. 13, states that [by him?] in all 110 Jain inscriptions were collected at Mathurā" (Smith, Jain Stūpa 1901, p. 6). — In The Academy 35—39 (cf. also WZKM 3—5) Bühler made known that (only) in the years 1889—91 he had obtained from Führer "more than" 111 impressions of (Mathurā) inscriptions (for the most part from the K. T.).

⁴ Cf. e. g. R. D. Banerji (= R. D. Bandyopādhyāya), Ep. Ind. 10. 1909/10, p. 106ff. (His inaccurate editions were corrected by Lüders, JRAS 1912, p. 153ff.)

⁵ Cf. e. g. Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 66ff.

⁶ Cf. also below § 9: L. 149v, § 13: L. 149j, and p. 59, n. 1 (List No 69).

Unfortunately most of his treatments of records from the Kaṅkāli Ṭilā, written for this edition, are missing now.¹

Only eight treatments of inscriptions for the present chapter are preserved in the Manuscript, including § 14, § 15, § 23 which had been crossed out by the author.² For the records List No 94 and 103, the transcripts of which had been taken from the author's previous publication, compare below § 18f.]

45a

Facsimile: below p. 263

§ 14

Inscription on the upper and lower rims of the base of a seated Jina, now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum (J 19). Nothing is known about the place where the image was found, but it may be safely assumed that it originates from the Kaṅkāli Ṭilā at Mathurā.

[Lüders treated the inscription in his List of Brāhmī Inscriptions 1912, p. 165: It was edited by R. D. Bandyopādhyāya [= R. D. Banerji³], JPBAS 5. 1909, p. 274f. No 5, and again, now under the name of R. D. Banerji, Ep. Ind. 10. 1909/10, p. 112 No 5 + pl. 1 (inscription) and pl. 3 (image). Lüders corrected the reading of the name of the *gaṇa* in the JRAS 1911, p. 1084 (= *Koliye*) and edited the whole record again, JRAS 1912, p. 158f. No 5.]

TEXT

1 mahārājasya Huveṣ[a]sya⁴ sav[a]carā⁵ 40 8 v[a]⁶ 2 d[i]⁷ 10 7
etasya puvāyaṃ K[o]||[i]ye gaṇā⁸ [Ba]ma(dā)-⁹

¹ Cf. above Preface p. 8 with note 3; p. 11, n. 4.

² The revised versions of the treatments of § 14, § 15, § 23 are missing now. The publication also of these paragraphs seems to be justified as they contain the transcripts of the author with notes, etc.; the rubbings of the records are preserved in the Lüders collection.

³ [Cf. below Bibliography, p. 241 n. 1.]

⁴ The *e*-sign of *ve* is quite distinct. [The third letter may be read as *kṣā*.]

⁵ [The second letter may be read as *vā*.] The *ā*-sign of *rā* is certain.

⁶ [The *akṣara* may be read as *vā*.]

⁷ The *i*-sign is denoted in this case by an almost straight line to the right [i. e. the letter may be read as *dā*, cf. the first letter of *dānā* in line 3].

⁸ [The vowel-sign of the *la* is shaped exactly like the vowel-sign described in note 7; cf. Ep. Ind. 10, pl. 3.] There is a short vertical stroke at the top of the horizontal *e*-sign of the *ye*, and a small *akṣara* which may be read *ta* [or *tā*] appears above the first line between *ye* and the following *ga*. It seems therefore that at first the engraver had written *Koliye gaṇa*, or perhaps *gaṇe*, and then intended to correct this to *Koliyāto gaṇāto*, but gave up the task half-way. Read: *gaṇe*.

⁹ The *ma* is missing in the impressions, but distinct on pl. 1 (inscriptions) in the Ep. Ind. [It is discernible also on pl. 3 (images) where it appears as the last *akṣara* of the first line. In connection with the first two letters of the second line, which formerly were read as *[s]iye* or *[si]ye*, it was first proposed by Bandyopādhyāya to restore the whole word as *Bama(dā*)/[s]iye*. But what was read as

- 2 [si]ye k[u]l[e]¹ Pacenāgariya² śi[kh]āya³ Dh[a]ñiv[a]lasya⁴
 śiśin[i]ya⁵ Dh[a]ñīśiriya⁶ nirvat[a]na⁷
 3 B(u)dh[i]kasya⁸ vādhuye Śavātrātapotr[i]ya⁹ Yaśāya dānā
 Sa(m)bh[a]vasya¹⁰ prodima¹¹ pra-
 4 t[a]s[th]apitā¹²

[s]i or [si] would be an *akṣara* the left side of which would have disappeared altogether and its right side would have been almost completely destroyed by the broad vertical fissure which has caused the damage of the first letters of the first line: *ma* (upper rim), and of the third line: *b(u)* (lower rim) as it is shown by the facsimile in the Ep. Ind., pl. 1 and in the impressions. However, that fissure seems to be of later date as it is not to be seen on the photograph of the image (Ep. Ind., pl. 3): the just mentioned *ma* (l. 1, *akṣ.* 1) and the portion of the upper rim below it are visible there yet undamaged, i. e. the first *akṣara* of the second line is to be read on pl. 3 as: *ye* and nothing seems to have been engraved before it. — If these observations are accepted, from the purely graphical point of view, the reading of the whole word would be: [ba]ma/ye or perhaps [ba]m[i]/ye. Cf. below p. 46, n. 1.]

¹ The *ku* or rather *ka* [or *ko*] is very small and seems to have been inserted afterwards. [The supposed *e*-sign of the second *akṣara* is attached below the top of the *la*, and it seems not impossible that it is meant only as an elongation to the right of the cross-bar of the foregoing *ka*. Therefore, from the purely graphical point of view, the word may be read as *k[u]l[a]*.]

² The *e*-sign of *ce* is distinct. Read: *Ucenāgariya*.

³ The word intended is undoubtedly *sākhāya*, but the first syllable is written as *śi*; cf. the *śi* in *śiśin[i]ya* and on the other hand the *sā* of *Yaśāya*. The second letter originally was written as *ka* or *kā*, but it seems to have been corrected to *khā*.

⁴ Banerji: *Dhujhavalas[ya]*. The readings of the first two syllables of this word and the first *akṣara* of the following *Dh[a]ñīśiriya* are not certain. The prolongation of the vertical line of the two *dha* may denote *-u* as it certainly does in *vādhuye* of the third line. The same prolongation, however, is found also in the *dha* of *B(u)dh[i]kasya* where it cannot have any meaning at all. The *ña* of *Dh[a]ñiv[a]lasya* shows a little curved line at the top which I formerly took as *ā*-sign. But it is certainly the *i*-sign, which in the *ñi* of the following name *Dh[a]ñīśiriya* is attached to the middle of the letter. Whether we have to read *Dhañīvalasya* or *Dhuñīvalasya*, can be decided only on the base of the etymology of the word which is not clearly established. [Later on Lüders remarked in the Manuscript:] Of the two readings I have preferred the former as *dhañi* can be traced back to Sk. *dhānya*, whereas *dhuñi* appears to be meaningless. — [The third *akṣara* of the word may be read as *vā*.]

⁵ [The third letter may be read as *nā*.]

⁶ For the first two *akṣaras* see the remarks in note 4.

⁷ The small *r*-stroke of *rva* is clearly visible on the back of the impression. The third letter may be read as *tā*.

⁸ [The broad fissure mentioned above (note 9) has caused the loss of the left side of the *mātrkā* *ba* together with the supposed *u*-sign of the letter.] As regards the second *akṣara* [which shows besides the *i*-sign also the *u*-sign] see the remarks in note 4.

⁹ Apparently *śivatrātapotriya* was the intended reading. [Below the top of the *akṣara* read as *trā* there is a stroke to the left which seems to be accidental.]

¹⁰ [The second letter may be read as *bhā*.]

¹¹ In *di* the curve denoting the *-i* is attached to the middle of the *da*.

¹² [For the last four *akṣaras* which are written in the middle of the fourth line, cf. also Ep. Ind., pl. 3. The first letter shows no *i*-sign. The second *akṣara* may be

TRANSLATION

[In the year 48 of *mahārāja* Huveṣa, in the 2nd (month) of the rainy season, on the 17th day, on this date, at the request of Dh[a]ñīsiri, the female pupil of Dh[a]ñiv[a]lla in the Koliya *gaṇa*, the Bama(dāsi)ya *kula*,¹ the (U)cenāgarī *śākhā*, an image of Saṃbhava was set up as the gift of Yaśā², the daughter-in-law of B(u)dhika, the grand-daughter of Ś(i)vatrāta.>³

56

Facsimile: below p. 263

§ 15

Inscription on the pedestal of a large figure which has been destroyed. It was found in the west of the Kaṅkāli Ṭilā and is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum (J 26).

The record was edited by Bühler, Ep. Ind. 1.1892, p. 386 No 8 + pl. The reading of the date of the year was corrected by Bühler, Ep. Ind. 2. 1894, p. 204, note 61, and the reading of the name of the *śākhā* by Lüders, Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 105 No 18.

TEXT

1 — s[i]ddham⁴ m[ahā]rāj[a]sy[a]⁵ r[āja]tirāj[a]sya⁶ [d]evaputrasya
Huvaṣkasya⁷ saṃ 60 hemantamāse 4 di 10 etasyāṃ pūrvvāyāṃ
Koliye⁸ gaṇe Sthānikīye kule āryy[a]-V(ai)r[i]yāṇaṃ⁹ śākhāyā vāca-
k[ā]sy-āryya-Vṛddhahasti[sy](a)

read only as s[th]a or as s[th]a. As the lower margin of the stone is a little vaulted only the upper portion of the small circle denoting -tha or -ītha is copied in the impressions and it is therefore impossible to decide whether the dot, distinguishing the two letters, was written in the centre.]

¹ [As in several of the Jaina inscriptions from the Kaṅkāli Ṭilā there are mentioned members out of the Koliya *gaṇa*, the Brahmadāsika (or -dāsiya) *kula*, the Ucenāgarī *śākhā* (with v. l.), it is highly probable that also in this inscription the reading of the name of the *kula* as given above (cf. p. 44, n. 9) is to be understood as Brahmadāsiya. Perhaps the missing portion of the word was written on the rim of the proper left side of the pedestal.]

² [Cf. above p. 29.]

³ [Cf. Lüders, JRAS 1912, p. 159.]

⁴ Before s[i]ddham there is a small horizontal stroke which is perhaps not accidental. [The first *akṣara* may be read as s[i]. The *ddham* is written as a compound letter.]

⁵ [The first *akṣara* may be read as me.]

⁶ [The second *akṣara* being blurred in the impressions was read using the plate in the Ep. Ind.]

⁷ Throughout the inscription the horizontal stroke or hook which distinguishes the *ha* from *pa* is very small and especially so in the first *akṣara* of this word, but there can be practically no doubt about the reading of the name.

⁸ Bühler: *Koṭṭīye*], but cf. Lüders, JRAS 1911, p. 1084].

⁹ Bühler: *ayya*-[*Veri*]yāṇa, but the *r*-stroke on the top of the *yya* and the *anusvāra* above the *na* are quite distinct. There is a horizontal stroke added at the bottom of the initial *a*, which in my opinion denotes the length of the vowel

- 2 [si]ye k[u]l[e]¹ Pacenāgariya² śi[kh]āya³ Dh[a]ñiv[a]lasya⁴
 śiśin[i]ya⁵ Dh[a]ñīśiriya⁶ nirvat[a]na⁷
 3 B(u)dh[i]kasya⁸ vādhuye Śavātrātapotr[i]ya⁹ Yaśāya dānā
 Sa(m)bh[a]vasya¹⁰ prodima¹¹ pra-
 4 t[a]s[th]apitā¹²

[s]i or [si] would be an *akṣara* the left side of which would have disappeared altogether and its right side would have been almost completely destroyed by the broad vertical fissure which has caused the damage of the first letters of the first line: *ma* (upper rim), and of the third line: *b(u)* (lower rim) as it is shown by the facsimile in the Ep. Ind., pl. 1 and in the impressions. However, that fissure seems to be of later date as it is not to be seen on the photograph of the image (Ep. Ind., pl. 3): the just mentioned *ma* (l. 1, *akṣ.* 1) and the portion of the upper rim below it are visible there yet undamaged, i. e. the first *akṣara* of the second line is to be read on pl. 3 as: *ye* and nothing seems to have been engraved before it. — If these observations are accepted, from the purely graphical point of view, the reading of the whole word would be: [ba]ma/ye or perhaps [ba]m[i]/ye. Cf. below p. 46, n. 1.]

¹ The *ku* or rather *ka* [or *ko*] is very small and seems to have been inserted afterwards. [The supposed *e*-sign of the second *akṣara* is attached below the top of the *la*, and it seems not impossible that it is meant only as an elongation to the right of the cross-bar of the foregoing *ka*. Therefore, from the purely graphical point of view, the word may be read as *k[u]l[a]*.]

² The *e*-sign of *ce* is distinct. Read: *Ucenāgariya*.

³ The word intended is undoubtedly *sākhāya*, but the first syllable is written as *śi*; cf. the *śi* in *śiśin[i]ya* and on the other hand the *sā* of *Yaśāya*. The second letter originally was written as *ka* or *kā*, but it seems to have been corrected to *khā*.

⁴ Banerji: *Dhujhavalas[ya]*. The readings of the first two syllables of this word and the first *akṣara* of the following *Dh[a]ñīśiriya* are not certain. The prolongation of the vertical line of the two *dha* may denote *-u* as it certainly does in *vādhuye* of the third line. The same prolongation, however, is found also in the *dha* of *B(u)dh[i]kasya* where it cannot have any meaning at all. The *ña* of *Dh[a]ñiv[a]lasya* shows a little curved line at the top which I formerly took as *ā*-sign. But it is certainly the *i*-sign, which in the *ñi* of the following name *Dh[a]ñīśiriya* is attached to the middle of the letter. Whether we have to read *Dhañīvalasya* or *Dhuñīvalasya*, can be decided only on the base of the etymology of the word which is not clearly established. [Later on Lüders remarked in the Manuscript:] Of the two readings I have preferred the former as *dhañi* can be traced back to Sk. *dhānya*, whereas *dhuñi* appears to be meaningless. — [The third *akṣara* of the word may be read as *vā*.]

⁵ [The third letter may be read as *nā*.]

⁶ For the first two *akṣaras* see the remarks in note 4.

⁷ The small *r*-stroke of *rva* is clearly visible on the back of the impression. The third letter may be read as *tā*.

⁸ [The broad fissure mentioned above (note 9) has caused the loss of the left side of the *mātrkā* *ba* together with the supposed *u*-sign of the letter.] As regards the second *akṣara* [which shows besides the *i*-sign also the *u*-sign] see the remarks in note 4.

⁹ Apparently *śivatrātapotriya* was the intended reading. [Below the top of the *akṣara* read as *trā* there is a stroke to the left which seems to be accidental.]

¹⁰ [The second letter may be read as *bhā*.]

¹¹ In *di* the curve denoting the *-i* is attached to the middle of the *da*.

¹² [For the last four *akṣaras* which are written in the middle of the fourth line, cf. also Ep. Ind., pl. 3. The first letter shows no *i*-sign. The second *akṣara* may be

TEXT

///((de)[va]putrasya Huviṣkasya sa[m]¹///

TRANSLATION

In the year of *devaputra* Huviṣka

107b

Facsimile: below p. 264

§ 17

Fragmentary inscription on a Jaina tablet from the Kaikālī Tīlā, now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum.

It was noticed by Bühler in his description of the tablet, Ep. Ind. 2. 1894, p. 311 + pl. 1b (the tablet), and edited by R. D. Banerji, Ep. Ind. 10. 1909/10, p. 120 No 18 + pl. 3 (the inscription).

TEXT

1 Dhana[m]i(tra)[sa]² dh[it]u A[ra]///

2 [vadhu]ye [ā]y[ā]ga[paṭo pa]³///

TRANSLATION

The tablet of homage was set up by the daughter of Dhana-mitra the daughter-in-law of

The inscription is much decayed, and the reading is therefore somewhat doubtful. I admit that, judging from the traces of the letters, Banerji's reading *Danami[trā]ye dhītu* would be possible. On the other hand, it is quite uncommon in these inscriptions, in stating the descent of a female donor, to give the name of her mother instead of that of her father. As far as I can see, there is only one exception.

The inscription List No 121 records a gift of the daughter of Varmā, [Gulhā], the wife of Jayadāsa (*Varmaye dhītu [Gulhā]ye Jayadāsasya kuṭumbiniye*). Once, in the very copious inscription List No 122, the names of both parents and even of both parents-in-law are registered (*Vara[n]jahasti[sya ca] Deviya ca dhīta Jayadevasya vadhu Moṣiniye vadhu*), and it might be assumed that the same practice was followed in our inscription and that the name of the father stood at the beginning of the first line which is entirely illegible. But this is not very likely as,

¹ Bühler: *sa*, but a trace of the *anusvāra* is preserved.

² Banerji: *Danami[trā]ye*. The last *akṣara* is uncertain, see the remarks above.

³ Restore: *pa(tīṭhāpito)* or a similar form.

- 2 [si]ye k[u]l[e]¹ Pacenāgariya² śi[kh]āya³ Dh[a]ñiv[a]lasya⁴
 śiśin[i]ya⁵ Dh[a]ñīśiriya⁶ nirvat[a]na⁷
 3 B(u)dh[i]kasya⁸ vādhuye Śavātrātapotr[i]ya⁹ Yaśāya dānā
 Sa(m)bh[a]vasya¹⁰ prodima¹¹ pra-
 4 t[a]s[th]apitā¹²

[s]i or [si] would be an *akṣara* the left side of which would have disappeared altogether and its right side would have been almost completely destroyed by the broad vertical fissure which has caused the damage of the first letters of the first line: *ma* (upper rim), and of the third line: *b(u)* (lower rim) as it is shown by the facsimile in the Ep. Ind., pl. 1 and in the impressions. However, that fissure seems to be of later date as it is not to be seen on the photograph of the image (Ep. Ind., pl. 3): the just mentioned *ma* (l. 1, *akṣ.* 1) and the portion of the upper rim below it are visible there yet undamaged, i. e. the first *akṣara* of the second line is to be read on pl. 3 as: *ye* and nothing seems to have been engraved before it. — If these observations are accepted, from the purely graphical point of view, the reading of the whole word would be: [ba]ma/ye or perhaps [ba]m[i]/ye. Cf. below p. 46, n. 1.]

¹ The *ku* or rather *ka* [or *ko*] is very small and seems to have been inserted afterwards. [The supposed *e*-sign of the second *akṣara* is attached below the top of the *la*, and it seems not impossible that it is meant only as an elongation to the right of the cross-bar of the foregoing *ka*. Therefore, from the purely graphical point of view, the word may be read as *k[u]l[a]*.]

² The *e*-sign of *ce* is distinct. Read: *Ucenāgariya*.

³ The word intended is undoubtedly *sākhāya*, but the first syllable is written as *śi*; cf. the *śi* in *śiśin[i]ya* and on the other hand the *sā* of *Yaśāya*. The second letter originally was written as *ka* or *kā*, but it seems to have been corrected to *khā*.

⁴ Banerji: *Dhujhavalas[ya]*. The readings of the first two syllables of this word and the first *akṣara* of the following *Dh[a]ñīśiriya* are not certain. The prolongation of the vertical line of the two *dha* may denote *-u* as it certainly does in *vādhuye* of the third line. The same prolongation, however, is found also in the *dha* of *B(u)dh[i]kasya* where it cannot have any meaning at all. The *ña* of *Dh[a]ñiv[a]lasya* shows a little curved line at the top which I formerly took as *ā*-sign. But it is certainly the *i*-sign, which in the *ñi* of the following name *Dh[a]ñīśiriya* is attached to the middle of the letter. Whether we have to read *Dhañīvalasya* or *Dhuñīvalasya*, can be decided only on the base of the etymology of the word which is not clearly established. [Later on Lüders remarked in the Manuscript:] Of the two readings I have preferred the former as *dhañi* can be traced back to Sk. *dhānya*, whereas *dhuñi* appears to be meaningless. — [The third *akṣara* of the word may be read as *vā*.]

⁵ [The third letter may be read as *nā*.]

⁶ For the first two *akṣaras* see the remarks in note 4.

⁷ The small *r*-stroke of *rva* is clearly visible on the back of the impression. The third letter may be read as *tā*.

⁸ [The broad fissure mentioned above (note 9) has caused the loss of the left side of the *mātrkā* *ba* together with the supposed *u*-sign of the letter.] As regards the second *akṣara* [which shows besides the *i*-sign also the *u*-sign] see the remarks in note 4.

⁹ Apparently *śivatrātapotriya* was the intended reading. [Below the top of the *akṣara* read as *trā* there is a stroke to the left which seems to be accidental.]

¹⁰ [The second letter may be read as *bhā*.]

¹¹ In *di* the curve denoting the *-i* is attached to the middle of the *da*.

¹² [For the last four *akṣaras* which are written in the middle of the fourth line, cf. also Ep. Ind., pl. 3. The first letter shows no *i*-sign. The second *akṣara* may be

TEXT

- 1 bhadata-Jayasenasya āmtevēsiniye
 2 Dhāmaghoṣāye dān[o]¹ pāsādo

TRANSLATION

The temple (is) the gift of Dhāmaghoṣā (*Dharmaghoṣā*), the female disciple of the venerable Jayasena.

Jayasena is called *bhada(n)ta*, which elsewhere in the inscriptions is exclusively only an epithet of Buddhist monks and Ājivika ascetics. In the Jaina scriptures, where *bhante* is frequently used in addressing laymen and monks, *bhadanta* as far as I can see never occurs as the designation or title of a monk.

The term is so exceptional for a Jaina monk that one almost feels inclined to doubt if the stone bearing the inscription really came from the Kaṅkāli Tīlā, all the more so as it cannot be traced in the Lucknow Museum among the finds from the place. There is nothing in the inscription to prove that it belonged to a Jaina building, and a mistake in the statement about its origin would not be unprecedented. On the other hand, it is of course not impossible that in the pre-Kuṣān period, to which our inscription is to be referred, the terminology was not quite as rigorous as in later times, and for the present we can hardly refrain from treating the inscription as a Jaina record.

That ecclesiastical terms were occasionally exchanged between the adherents of different creeds is shown by *antevāsini*, which in our inscription (*āmtevēsini*) is applied to Dhāmaghoṣā. As a rule, the female pupil of a monk or nun is called *antevāsini* in the Buddhist inscriptions and *śiśini* in the Jaina inscriptions, but Ugahakā, who is called the *śiśini* of a nun in the Dēōriyā inscription List No 910 (cf. below p. 118), was a Buddhist nun, and in the Jaina inscription List No 67 (Ep. Ind. 2. 1894, p. 204 No 21), dated in S. 81, *āmtevēsikini* appears instead of *śiśini*.

Antevāsin also, though it is commonly used with regard to Jaina monks in such texts as the Therāvali, denotes in the inscriptions almost exclusively the pupil of a Buddhist monk, while the Jaina term in epigraphic records is invariably *śiṣya*.² The only Jaina record where *antevāsin* occurs, is the ancient Mathurā inscription List No 93 (Ep. Ind. 2. 1894, p. 198 No 1), but there it is used in a slightly different meaning. While generally the person who is called the pupil of a monk belongs to the clergy himself, Utaradāsaka, the pupil of the ascetic Māharakhita, expressly states that he is a lay-hearer (*sāvaka*).

¹ This is Bühler's reading [in the Ep. Ind.], but *no* is not quite certain; it is possibly *nā*. [In The Academy and in WZKM Bühler transcribed the word as *dānam*.]

² In Buddhist inscriptions *śiṣya* occurs only rarely at Kanhāri and Amarāvati.

Bühler (Ep. Ind. 2. 1894, p. 199, 17) was therefore probably right in supposing that also in our inscription *āntevāsini* means that Jayasena was Dhāmaghoṣa's spiritual director, not that she was an ascetic. It is therefore not improbable that in the pre-Kuṣāṇ period *antevāsin* and *antevāsini* were preserved for Jaina lay-hearers in contradistinction to *śiṣya* and its feminine counterpart which were used for Jaina ascetics.

As regards my translation of the last two words, I am by no means sure that it correct; compare the remarks on the inscription List No 93.¹

111

Facsimile: below p. 265

§ 21

Fragmentary inscription on a fragment of a large slab from the Kaṅkālī Tīlā, now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum.

It was edited by Bühler, Ep. Ind. 2. 1894, p. 200 No 7 + pl.

TEXT

- 1 ///y.[nu]kṣ.²///
- 2 .r. k...sya³ ca yo ma[no]///
- 3 ///[ā]yatana[m] dhanasya mahataḥ ..///
- 4 ///ce=py=akṣayaṃ = 4⁴

It is impossible to give a continued translation of the inscription. Bühler has already recognised that it contains the fragments of some Sanskrit stanzas in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. In line 2 we have the beginning of a *pāda*, in line 3 the middle portion of another, and *ce=py=akṣayaṃ* are the last words of a fourth stanza. Too little has been preserved of the text to say anything about its contents, but as the

¹ [The Manuscript does not contain the treatment of that inscription.]

² Bühler: *ya...kṣa*.

³ Bühler: *ra[kṛatva]sya*. The remainder of the first *akṣara* is probably a subscript *-r*. The second letter is a ligature, the first element of which is certainly *ka*, but the subscript member cannot have been *-ta*. The sign looks more like *kṣa* or *kṣu*. Bühler's reading of the third *akṣara* is quite improbable. It may possibly be *dṛa*. I fail to see which word was meant.

⁴ Bühler reads the last two signs [*na*] *kiṃ*, but he remarks himself that the bracketed letter looks almost like *ki* and that the lower part of the vertical is faint, and the top so damaged that the apparent *i*-stroke may have been only a serif. Moreover he admits that the *anusvāra* of his reading *kiṃ* is doubtful. — There is certainly no *anusvāra*, and the last sign is distinctly the numeral sign for 4. Since *akṣayaṃ*, as is shown above, must be the last word of the inscription, the sign after *yaṃ* and before 4 cannot be a letter. It is the sign of the full stop consisting of two horizontal strokes. It appears to have been corrected from the numeral sign for 4, which originally was engraved immediately after *akṣayaṃ*, the last word of the text.

inscription dates from the Kṣatrapa period, there can be little doubt that the verses were added to a donation record according to a custom prevailing at that time. Similarly the inscription on the Mōrā slab (§113: L.14) concludes with a Sanskrit stanza in the *Bhujāṅgaviṣṇubhita* metre and [... ..]¹

(149k)*

§ 22

Inscription on the pedestal of an image from the Katholī Kūā in Mathurā City, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 1349). As the donor belonged to the Jaina *śākhā* of the Rājapāliyakas, it may be surmised that the image originally belonged to the sanctuary on the site of the Kaṅkāli Tīlā.

TEXT

- 1 Maha[śa]bhas[y]a² i[ya]³ prat(i)-
- 2 mā pratathapit[ā]⁴ Āḍihaka-
- 3 [ke]na Rājapāliya-
- 4 kena priya dev[o]⁵

TRANSLATION

This image of Mahāśabha (? *Maharṣabha* ?) has been set up by Āḍihaka, the Rājapāliyaka (member of the *Rājapāliyā śākhā*). May the god be pleased (?).

As the donor was a Jaina, it is probable that the image represents some saint of his creed, and I feel therefore inclined to take *Maha[śa]bha* as a misspelling for *Maharṣabha* and to look at it as the name of the first Tirthamkara, who generally is called Rṣabha or Vṛṣabha only. *Āḍihaka* does not sound like a personal name, and it is tempting to look for the personal name in the last line of the record. But the reading *Priyadevena* is rather unlikely, the fourth *akṣara* being either *vo* or *vā*, but not *ve*. Moreover there is nothing to show that it was followed by *na*. On the other hand, if we take *priya dev[o]* as the familiar phrase

¹ [The author did not finish the last sentence.]

² The third *akṣara* looks as if it had been inserted as an afterthought. I take it to be *śa*, although in that case the hook at the bottom of the letter would be left unexplained. Perhaps the sign is the result of correcting the original *śa* to *rṣa*. Of the subscript *-[ya]* of *s[y]a* only the vertical stroke is visible. After *s[y]a* one *akṣara* seems to have been erased.

³ The reading *i[ya]* (for *iyam*) appears to be certain, but the right half of the second letter has not been engraved.

⁴ There is no *i*-sign on the second *akṣara*; read: *prat(i)thapit[ā]*.

⁵ The reading *vo* is not quite certain. The left stroke of the *o*-sign is not distinct and the *akṣara* may be read *vā*.

at the end of donative inscriptions, we have to face two difficulties, the omission of *tām* after *priya* and the designation of the Tirthaṃkara as *deva*. Both are not unsurmountable. Omissions of syllables are frequent enough in such carelessly engraved inscriptions, and *devādhideva* is according to Hemacandra, Abhidhānacintāmaṇi 25, a name of one of the Tirthaṃkaras. Under these circumstances the sense of *priya dev[o]* will hardly be settled before the meaning of *Āḍihaka* has been ascertained.

89c

Facsimile: below p. 265

§ 23

Fragmentary inscription on the upper and lower rims of the pedestal of an image of a seated Jina, now in the Mathurā Museum. Till 1907 the sculpture was preserved in the Delhi Municipal Museum. The place of discovery is unknown. From the style and the kind of stone used, Vogel thinks that the pedestal belongs to the Mathurā school, and it is at any rate possible that it originates from the Kaṅkāli Tīlā.

Lüders' preliminary reading of the inscription was published by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 74 (B 31). [The pedestal is figured in: van Lohuizen, The 'Scythian' Period 1949, pl. 38, 65.]

TEXT

- 1 /// (saṃ)vva(t)¹ [90 7]² varṣ[ā]m[a]³ 1 Koṭeyagaṇa⁴ Vairaśakhi⁵..
2 /// ddharm[mapa]tṇya [D]ā[m]i[n]i...[i]ye⁶ [Vardha]m[ā]na-
maṇḍavikā⁷ pratiṣṭh[ā]pit[ā]

TRANSLATION

In the year 97, in the 1st month of the rainy season, (at the request of) ... belonging to the Vaira (*Vajra*) śākhā of the Koṭeya gaṇa ... a small pavilion for Vardhamāna was erected by Dāmini ... (?), the first wife of.....

The characters are of the later Gupta type, and the date must therefore be referred to the Gupta era.

¹ The *t* is almost entirely effaced.

² The first figure is certain, only a small portion having disappeared on account of a crack in the stone. Only a vertical stroke of the second figure is left which seems to be the remnant of 7.

³ The *ā*-sign of *rs[ā]* is a little blurred, but certain.

⁴ The *e*-sign of the *ṭe* is quite distinct.

⁵ There are traces of one more *akṣara* after *khi*. It may have been *ya*.

⁶ The bracketed letters are more or less uncertain, whereas the vowel-signs are distinct. The fourth *akṣara* and the *mātrkā* of the fifth are illegible.

⁷ The first two *akṣaras* of the word are almost entirely effaced.

4. The Caubārā Mounds

About a mile to the south-west of the Kaṭrā is a group of some twelve circular mounds known as the Caubārā mounds from a resthouse (*caubārā*) that once stood there.¹

In 1868, when a new road to Sonkh was carried through the mound marked D [in the „Map of Mathurā’²], a gold reliquary came to light. In 1871/72 Cunningham made trial excavations in three more of these mounds. In mound A he found bricks of a Stūpa and a steatite relic casket which is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in mound B the capital of a large pillar preserved now in the same Museum (M 14), in mound C a colossal head³ and the right knee of a seated colossal draped figure which presumably is identical with No A 24 of the Mathurā Museum. These fragments evidently belong to a large Buddha statue. The finds prove that the mounds A and D were Buddhist Stūpas and that mound C was certainly the site of a Buddhist sanctuary. From small fragments found about mound B, Cunningham came to the conclusion that B also was Buddhist, and there is nothing in the large capital extracted from the mound to contradict this opinion.

Subsequently Growse explored the Caubārā mounds and discovered in one of them, apparently A, among other sculptures the head of a colossal Buddha statue which Vogel has identified with No A 27 of the Mathurā Museum, the railing pillar bearing the inscription § 25: L. 98, and the lower part of a seated Bodhisattva with the inscription § 24: L. 38.

From § 25: L. 98 it appears that the Stūpa existed already in the middle of the first century A. D., the characters showing the transitional forms from the Kṣatrapa to the Kuṣān times. § 24: L. 38 is dated in S. 33 during the reign of Huvīṣka, and it gives *Madhuravanaka* as the name of the Stūpa.

Growse mentioned also⁴ that in mound A he found a small stone fragment with the letters *budhānam*⁵ and, in another mound on the margin of a dry tank in the neighbourhood, another stone with the letters *dānam cha* [!]⁶.

38

Facsimile: below p. 266

§ 24

K 33

Inscription on the broken pedestal of the image of a seated Bodhisattva from the Caubārā mound A (?), now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum (B 2).

¹ Cunningham, ASI [Ann.] Rep. 3. 1873, p. 13; 16—18; Growse, Mathurā² 1880, p. 113—115; Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 13f.

² [Cf. ASI [Ann.] Rep. 3. 1873, pl. 1 (Map of Mathurā). See below p. 255.]

³ [Vogel mentioned the head Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 54, supposing that it is identical with No A 28 of the Museum.]

⁴ [Mathurā¹ 1874 Pt 2, p. 176, 2nd ed. 1880, p. 115.]

⁵ [List No 142.]

⁶ [List No 143.]

It was published by Growse, Mathurā¹ 1874 Pt 1, p. 105; Pt 2, p. 172; Ind. Ant. 6. 1877, p. 217 No 2 + pl.; Mathurā² 1880, p. 114 + pl. Growse did not succeed in making out more than the date and a few single words of the text. Cunningham also mentioned only the date, ASI [Ann.] Rep. 17. 1884, p. 109. From the imperfect reproduction in the Ind. Ant. 6. 1877 Lüders tried to decipher the inscription, Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 39f. No 9. The correct reading of two of the names was established by Vogel, Ep. Ind. 8. 1905/06, p. 173 with note 3, and *ibid.*, p. 181f. + 2 plates (showing the pedestal and the inscription), the whole record was edited again by Bloch.

TEXT

- 1 mahārajasya devaputrasya¹ Huv[e]ṣkasya² sam 30 3 gr 1 di 8 bhīkṣusya Balasya [t]repiṭakasya antevā[si]n(i)y(e) [bhi]kṣuṇīye tre-(piṭi)[kā]ye Buddha[mi]trāy[e]³
 2 bhāgineyiye bhikhuṇīye Dhanava[t]īye Bodhi[s]atvo p[r]atithā[p]i(to)⁴
 [Ma.]dh(u)ravaṇake⁵ sahā mātāpitihi [h].⁶

TRANSLATION

In the year 33 of *mahārāja devaputra* Huveṣka, in the 1st (month) of the hot season, on the 8th day, a Bodhisattva was set up at Madh(u)ravaṇaka by the nun Dhanavati, the sister's daughter of the nun Buddhāmitrā, who knows the Tripitaka, the female pupil of the monk Bala, who knows the Tripitaka, together with her father and mother

The monk Bala is mentioned again in the Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh inscription List No 918 and the Sārnāth inscriptions List No 926 and 927 and together with the nun Buddhāmitrā in the Sārnāth inscription List No 925.

98

Facsimile: below p. 266

§ 25

Kṣa 9

Inscription on the reverse of a railing pillar from the Caubārā mound A (?), now in the Mathurā Museum.

¹ The upper part of the *tra* shows a peculiar form. From the impressions before me the reading *devaputr[ā]sya* would not be impossible, but the plates in the Ep. Ind. show the reading given above.

² *Huv[e]ṣkasya* seems to be more probable than *Huv[i]ṣkasya* adopted by Bloch.

³ The *e*-stroke is written similar to an *i*-sign.

⁴ Bloch: *pratīhāvito*. What has been preserved of the fourth *akṣara* is more in favour of *pi*.

⁵ Bloch: *[Mā]dh[u]ravaṇake*. I cannot discover the sign of the length on the first *akṣara*.

⁶ After *mātāpitihi* about nine *akṣaras* are almost completely destroyed. [Restore probably: (*sarvasatva*) [h] (*itasukhāye*).]

The record was edited by Growse, Ind. Ant. 6. 1877, p. 219 No 6 + pl., JASB 47. 1878 Pt 1, p. 118 with a photolithograph of the pillar on pl. 18 (cf. pl. 20); Mathurā² 1880, p. 114 + pl. It was edited again by Lüders, Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 152 No 29, and by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 143f. (J 7), where also a photograph of the stone is published (pl. 22). [The image was figured also by Bachhofer, Frühind. Plastik/Early Ind. Sculpture 1929, pl. 98 (cf. pl. 99), by Vogel, Sculpture de Mathurā 1930, pl. 21 b, etc.]

TEXT

abhyant[a]r[o]pasthāyakasa¹ Kāthikasa dānaṃ

TRANSLATION

The gift of Kāthika, the servant in the royal harem.

As to the meaning of *abhyantaropasthāyaka*, I refer to the term *ābhyaṃtaro gaṇaḥ*, 'the host of the residents of the royal harem' (Nāṭya-śāstra 24, 17), and *aupasthāyikanirmuṇḍāḥ*, 'the eunuch servants' (ibid. 24, 51).

The vocation of the donor seems to have determined the choice of the figure represented on the obverse of the pillar.² It is unique among the sculptures of Mathurā.

The figure, which is well preserved down to the knees, represents a young man standing under a mango-tree in blossom. Over the tree there is a rail or balcony. The apparel of the youth and his attitude are such as to make it easily understood how Growse came to call him a dancing girl. He wears a magnificent turban, large ear-rings, a necklace of beads and another elaborate necklace round his shoulders. Both wrists are adorned with bracelets and a sash is tied round his waist. His right hand is raised and two fingers are placed in a coquettish way on the

¹ The dot in the centre of the subscript *-tha* is not clear, but probable. [At the top of the third *akṣara* there is a stroke slanting to the right which is distinctly visible on the plates in Ind. Ant. 6. 1877, in Mathurā² and on some of the impressions. Therefore Lüders formerly (Ind. Ant. 33. 1904) read: *abhyamti*-. But as the *sthā* has a similar slanting stroke to the right, which is also distinctly visible in the rubbings, it would be possible to transcribe the beginning of the word as *abhyant[ā]*-. At the top of the fourth *akṣara* the *o*-sign is not distinctly written; from the purely graphical point of view it would be possible to read *r[ā]* instead of *r[o]*.]

² On the reverse there are three panels enclosed between Persepolitan pillars. In the upper panel a tree is surrounded by a railing and worshipped by two men who offer garlands and lotus flowers. The middle panel shows a seated man and another behind some indefinite object on which two birds are perched. A third person appears in the background. The lower panel is nearly completely destroyed. The inscription is engraved on the lower rim of the upper panel, but refers undoubtedly to the whole pillar.

chin of the head slightly bent. His left arm is hanging down. Judging from the photographs, I consider it probable that some object which he held in his left hand has been broken off.

The figure probably represents one of the minor deities, but it seems to me that this half feminine being was selected on purpose by the 'servant of the royal harem' for the carving of his pillar, just as at Bhārhut the horseman (*asavārika*) Suladha had his pillar adorned with the figure of a horseman accompanied by his horse and his groom; see my remarks on the inscription List No 728 [edited in CII 2, 2, 1].

5. Jamālpur Mound

The first archaeological discoveries on a larger scale appear to have been made in 1860 in digging the foundations of the Magistrate and Collector's new court-house on the site of an extensive mound to the south of the City. As the old jail was located there, the mound was at first generally referred to as the Jail mound. The name, however, was misleading as the new jail was at some distance to the south-east and had another mound which does not seem to have been explored. Growse therefore proposed to call the Court-house mound the Jamālpur mound from the adjoining hamlet, and this name has since been adopted.¹

The most important finds for the history of the place were a number of bases of pillars partly inscribed which enabled General Cunningham already in 1860 to determine correctly the name of at least one of the original buildings.² In the first volume of the ASI, containing the Reports made during the years 1862—65,³ he stated that about 30 bases were unearthed of which 15 bore inscriptions. In the ASI Reports for the year 1871/72⁴ Cunningham states that the excavation of the "Jail mound" was carefully continued by the late Mr. Harding, Magistrate of Mathurā, without any further results. But during the following years Growse seems to have made occasional discoveries, and after his transfer from the district, in 1877/78 the mound was completely levelled, the work having been sanctioned as a famine relief operation. Unfortunately no record of these excavations was ever published.

The finds made in the Jamālpur mound are scattered among the Museums of Mathurā, Calcutta, and Lucknow, and a good deal of them would seem to be lost entirely.

¹ Anderson, Catalogue and Handbook of the Arch. Coll. in the Ind. Mus. 1883, Pt 2, p. 492.

² ASI [Ann.] Rep. 1. 1871, p. 238. Notice of the discovery: JASB 1860, p. 400f.

³ ASI [Ann.] Rep. 1. 1871, p. 239.

⁴ ASI [Ann.] Rep. 3. 1873, p. 13 and 16.

The stones bearing the inscriptions No 33¹, 52, 60, 62, 62a, 62b, 63, 64 (= 61, 64a)², 82, 85, 126, 127, 128, 141, 146[, inter alia,] are said to have come from the Jamālpur mound, but we may confidently add to the list No 129—135, 137 and 139, as these inscriptions are found on pillar-bases exactly like the bases with the inscriptions No 62, 63, 64, 65, 126—128, 141. Here then we apparently have to add the records of the fifteen 'inscribed' bases mentioned in Cunningham's Report (ASI [Ann.] Rep. 1. 1871, p. 239) augmented by two.

One of the inscriptions, §31: L. 62, states that the base was dedicated to the *vihāra* of *mahārāja rājātirāja devapūtra Hūv[ī]ṣka*, which proves that the Jamālpur mound was the site of King Huviṣka's *vihāra*. From the name of the *vihāra* we should naturally conclude that it was founded by the king himself, and this is confirmed by §29: L. 52 which records the donation of a Buddhist image in S. 51 during the reign of *mahār(ā)ja d(e)vaputra Huveṣka* at the *mahārāja-d(ev)a(putra-v)ihāra*. In S. 51 therefore the *vihāra* certainly existed. — The inscriptions No 62, 62a—b, 63—65, 139, 132 (§ 31—§ 35, § 37—§ 39), however, are dated in a year which I read as 77, and therefore at a time when Huviṣka was no longer alive.³ But I do not think that on that account we should be compelled to read the date of the year as 47 as advocated by other scholars. I see no difficulty in assuming that the *vihāra* founded by the king was enlarged by the erection of a hall some years after his death.

Huviṣka's *vihāra* was not the only Buddhist monastery on the site of the mound. In his Report for 1862—65 (ASI [Ann.] Rep. 1. 1871, p. 238f.) Cunningham said that in 1863 he found the name of the "Kunda-Suka-Vihāra" on a large flat slab of stone unearthed from the "Jail mound". The inscription referred to, registered as No 140 in my List (= § 65), was never published. It was mentioned by Dowson in JRAS 5. 1870, p. 188 No 28, as having been so damaged that no coherent sense could be made out. The slab then seemed to have disappeared until in 1910 R. D. Banerji accidentally received an impression of it from the Lucknow Provincial Museum which he published in Ep. Ind. 10. 1909/10, p. 118f. In the inscription the slab is designed as the cooking stone of the Kakaṭikas in their own *vihāra* at Śrīkuṇḍa in some park the name of which is lost (///.opavane Śrīkuṇḍe s[va]ḥke vihāre). There can be no doubt that Cunningham (loc. cit.) took his "Kunda-Suka-Vihāra" from this inscription, and it is therefore certain that the slab was found in the "Jail mound" and that the *vihāra* of the Kakaṭikas was situated close to Huviṣka's *vihāra*.

¹ According to Growse, Mathurā¹ 1874 Pt 2, p. 173 and Mathurā² 1880, p. 106 discovered by himself in the Jamālpur mound.

² I am now convinced that No 64 of my List is really identical with No 61 [cf. below p. 71f.].

³ The first record of Vāsudeva (§ 30: L. 60) is dated in S. 74.

Under these circumstances it is impossible to decide whether the two Buddhist images bearing the inscriptions No 79¹ and 146 (§ 26 and § 67) are to be assigned to the royal *vihāra* or to the *vihāra* of the Kakaṭikas, and the same remark applies to the inscription on a Buddhist image dated in 135 of the Gupta era (A. D. 454/455, CII 3, p. 262ff., No 63).

Besides the Buddhist monasteries, the "Jail mound" covered also a non-Buddhistic sanctuary. In 1890 Führer found an inscribed slab lying loose on the pavement of the court near the brick Stūpa adjoining the two Jaina temples of the Kaṅkāli Tīlā.² Neither Führer nor Bühler, who edited the inscription (§ 27: L. 85), recognised that this was the same slab which Growse already in 1878³ had mentioned as being found in the Jamālpur mound⁴ and which accordingly later on must have been accidentally deposited in the place where it was found by Führer. The inscription states that the slab was set up in the temple of the holy lord of snakes, Dadhikarṇa. Vogel, *Sculpture de Mathurā* (1930, p. 23), is of the opinion that the site selected for the royal *vihāra* was originally dedicated to the snake deity, and he is inclined to find here an interesting example of the replacement of primitive cults by Buddhism. Now, it is true, the inscription on the slab may be a little earlier than the inscriptions on the pillar bases, and Dadhikarṇa's shrine may therefore have been older than the Buddhist *vihāra*, but there is no reason to assume that it was removed when the *vihāra* was built. On the contrary there seem to have been friendly relations between the Buddhist monks and the worshippers of the shrine, as from the inscription § 34: L. 63 it appears that one of the pillar bases of the *vihāra* was the donation of the priest in the temple of Dadhikarṇa.

There is another inscription from the Jamālpur mound which is of importance for the topographical questions. In § 64: L. 82 it is stated

¹ [Cunningham (ASI [Ann.] Rep. 3. 1873, p. 31 No 5) assigned the inscription List No 79 (§ 26) to the "Kankali Mound"; as is shown by the author (cf. below p. 60, n. 3) this heading apparently is a mistake for "Jail Mound". — That is not the only error in the just mentioned publication. Doubtless in Cunningham's No 17 (op. cit., p. 34) — concerning the inscription List No 69 — the heading "Jail Mound" and the notice "seated Buddha" are also mistakes which are to be corrected to "Kankali Mound" and "seated Jina". These corrections are justified not only by Vogel's statement (Cat. Mus. Math., p. 66 No B 3) that the inscription in question is incised on the pedestal of a Jina image with the *śrīvatsa* symbol in the centre of the chest, but also by the fact that both, the impression of the record on Vogel's just mentioned No B 3 as well as the original rubbing of Cunningham's No 17 (facsimile: [Ann.] Rep. 3, pl. 15, 17), which are preserved in our collection, without doubt are taken from the same stone. As there was no Jaina establishment on the site of the "Jail" or Jamālpur mound the Jaina inscription List No 69 — edited by Cunningham (op. cit.) together with 21 other records coming either from the Jamālpur mound or from the Kaṅkāli Tīlā — apparently originates from the last mentioned site, as was supposed already by Vogel (Cat. Mus. Math. p. 67). Cf. also i. g.: p. 40, n. 4.]

² Ep. Ind. 1. 1892, p. 380.

³ JASB 47, 1. 1878, p. 130f. No 3.

⁴ "the mound adjoining the Magistrate's Court-house".

that a Brahman of the Śaigraṇa *gotra*, the treasurer of *svāmin mahākṣa-trapa Śomḍāsa*, presented a tank, the western tank of the twin tanks, a reservoir, a grove, a pillar, and a stone-slab. There is no evidence that the donation was made in connection with some religious establishment, and it may simply have served the purpose of embellishing the grounds. Considering that the inscription §64: L. 82 is about a hundred years earlier than §65: L. 140 [cf. above p. 58], it is tempting to identify the Śrīkuṇḍa and the park (*vana* or, probably *upavana*) mentioned in §65: L. 140 with one of the tanks and the *ārāma* presented by the Brahman of the Śaigraṇa *gotra*. At any rate the Śrīkuṇḍa would seem to be the large tank immediately to the east of the former mound, and I am inclined to identify it with the large dried up pond mentioned by Hsüan-tsang in his description of Mathurā, as adjoining the Stūpa on the spot where the Buddha was offered honey by the monkey. Hsüan-tsang further tells us that to the north of the pond, not very far from it, there was a large wood in which there were footsteps left by the four former Buddhas walking up and down. This would agree very well with the mentioning of the wood in connection with the Śrīkuṇḍa in §65: L. 140. — If these identifications suggested already by Growse (Mathurā¹ 1874 Pt 1, p. 76) should prove correct, they will help us perhaps to determine the site of the famous cave-monastery of Upagupta. According to the Chinese pilgrim, the Monkey Stūpa lay 24 or 25 li, i. e. about 5 miles, to the south-east from it.¹

The dated, but fragmentary inscriptions No 33 and 60 (§ 28 and § 30) do not give any clue as to the nature of the sanctuary to which they belonged.

[Later remarks by Lüders in the Manuscript:] Vogel states² that the findplace of §68: L. 136 was presumably the Jamālpur site, but there is nothing to show it. — Probably the railing pillar with the symbol discussed under No 91 b (§ 70) and inscription No 125 d (§ 66) are to be classed with the Jamālpur inscriptions as they were found in a well at the village. [The two antiquities were made over to the Mathurā Museum by Lieut. Col. W. Vost, cf. Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. p. 120 and 150, resp.]

79

Facsimiles: below p. 267

§ 26

K 81

Fragmentary inscription on the base of a headless image of Buddha from Mathurā, now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum (B 1). It originates almost certainly from the Jamālpur mound.³

¹ [Cf. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, vol. 1. 1904, p. 306ff.]

² Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 166 (N 1).

³ The present record was published by Cunningham (loc. cit.) under the heading "Kankali Mound", but *ibid.*, p. 16, the inscription appears in a list of records from

The inscription was published by Rajendralala Mitra, JASB 39, 1. 1870, p. 129 No 16 + pl. 6, and by Cunningham, ASI [Ann.] Rep. 3. 1873, p. 31 No 5 + pl. 13. Lüders tried to read the text from Cunningham's facsimile and showed that Raj. Mitra's facsimile is absolutely untrustworthy, Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 149f. No 25.

TEXT

- 1 .. tra¹ Mitraśarmo Ghoṣako Parohaśāliko
Cikkakasa pitā m[ā]tā Idrad[a]tā².....rṣa
Idrabu .. ika[t]... b[im].
2 (*mahārā*)*jasya* rājātirāja*jasya* Kanīṣkasya saṃvatsare³

I am unable to give a coherent translation of the record. The first line seems to contain a string of personal names: [.. tra ...], Mitraśarma, Ghoṣaka, Parohaśālika, the father of Cikkaka, (his?) mother Idradatā (*Indradattā*), but the reading is partly doubtful.

The second line contains the date: in the year of *mahārāja rājātirāja* Kanīṣka.

85

Facsimile: below p. 268

§ 27

K 100

Inscription on a stone slab from the Jamālpur mound,⁴ now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum (E 5).

the 'Jail mound' [cf. above p. 57]. Considering that the Kaṅkāli Tīlā has only yielded Jaina sculptures, whereas the present inscription is engraved on the base of a Buddhist statue and totally different in style from the Jaina records, I have no doubt that the heading "Kankali Mound" is a mistake which will be conceivable if we see that the same heading is given to the preceding three and the following two inscriptions of Cunningham's paper. I have therefore classed the present record with the inscriptions from the Jamālpur mound.

¹ The first *akṣara* is pretty distinct, but I am unable to say what it is meant for. The third *akṣara* seems to be *ta*, but may possibly be *śa*. The fourth *akṣara* is quite indistinct. Perhaps the four letters are an abortive attempt to write *mitraśarmo*, which on that account was repeated. The second word of the record, *mitraśarmo*, is separated by a blank from the preceding .. tra ... as well as from the following *ghoṣako*.

² About ten *akṣaras* are obliterated after *idrad[a]tā*.

³ This line has been taken from Cunningham's two rubbings [(I and II). In both of them there are some letters traced in ink, the others showing yet the original readings: (I) [*jasya*] *rājātirāja*; (II) [*ja*] [*n*]*i*[*ś*](*k*)[*a*].]

⁴ As pointed out by Vogel, Führer's statement quoted by Bühler that the slab was found "on the floor of the brick *stūpa*, 47 feet in diameter, to the east of the first Jaina temple, on the east of the Tīlā", is palpably wrong. Growse expressly states that the stone was found excavating the Jamālpur mound in 1878, twelve years before Führer began his excavations at Mathurā.

The record was partly read and published with a facsimile by Growse, JASB 47, 1. 1878, p. 130f. No 3 + pl. 21, and Mathurā² 1880, p. 108 + pl. (p. 106). Bühler edited it Ep. Ind. 1. 1892, p. 390 No 18 + pl. (cf. also p. 381). Bühler's reading was reproduced, with some corrections, by Vogel, ASI Ann. Rep. 1908/09. 1912, p. 159f. It was referred to by Ramaprasad Chanda, Mem. ASI 5. 1920, p. 171[, and by Lüders, Bhārhut und die buddhistische Literatur 1941, p. 86, 2].

TEXT

- 1 — siddham [sa 20 6 va 3] d[i] 5¹ etasya[m]² pūr[vvayam]³
- 2 bhagavat[o] [nā]g[en]dr[a]sya Dadh[i]k[a]rṇ[a]sya⁴ stā-
- 3 ne śil[ā]paṭṭo pratiṣṭāpito Māthurā[n]am⁵
- 4 śailālakānam C[ā]ndak[ā] bhrātrk[ā]⁶ iti v[i]jñ[ā]-
- 5 yamānānam⁷ teṣam putrehi Nandibalapra-
- 6 mukhehi dārakehi mātāpitṛnam⁸ agra-
- 7 pratyasātāye bhavatu sarvasatvānam [hita]-
- 8 sukhā[rtham]⁹ bhavatu

TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 26, in the 3rd (month) of the rainy season, on the 5th day, on this date, the stone slab was set up at the shrine of the

¹ Already in 1878 the first line of the inscription was damaged a little by peeling off of the surface of the stone, but, as pointed out by Vogel, the number indicating the year was apparently still intact, the first words of the record being clearly visible in the handcopy published by Growse: — *siddham sa 20 6 . . . d . .* In the photolithograph of the Ep. Ind. — *siddham* and *d[i] 5* are still quite distinct; the date of the year and month is blurred but appears to be *sa 20 6 va 3*. Judging from the estampage before me, the writing seems to be in a much worse state at present, the words *siddham sa 20 6 va* being nearly effaced. Fortunately the Hoernle collection contains an old rubbing the value of which is impaired by pencilling the outlines of the letters, but which leaves not the slightest doubt that the reading of the first words was as stated above.

² The last *akṣara* may have been *syām*.

³ Bühler: *pū[rvvāyam]*, Vogel: *pū[rvvāyam]*. There seems to be no *ā*-sign at the top of the second *akṣara*.

⁴ Perhaps the reading is *[nā]g[en]drāsyā Dadhīkārṇāsya*. The bracketed letters are damaged at present.

⁵ The last *akṣara* is probably *nam*, not *nām*, although the shape of the *na* is not quite the same as in lines 2 and 6.

⁶ Perhaps the reading is *Candaka bhrātrka*. The *ā*-sign of *ca* is very small, and it is doubtful whether the length of the vowel in *kā* is denoted here by elongating the top-line, whereas in the *kā* of *śailālakānam* it is expressed by the stroke above the top-line.

⁷ Bühler: *vi[ṣṭū]yamānānam*, Vogel: *viṣṭūyamānānam*. The second *akṣara* is distinctly *jñā*. The vertical stroke above the *nam* seems to be accidental.

⁸ Bühler, Vogel: *-pitṛnam*. There is a horizontal stroke to the right of the *r*-sign which in my opinion indicates the length of the vowel as in medial *-ū*.

⁹ The *anusvāra* is doubtful.

holy lord of Nāgas Dadhikarṇṇa by the boys, chief among whom is Nandibala, the sons of the actors of Mathurā, who are known as the Cāndaka brothers. May it be for the sharing of the principal lot by their parents. May it be for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

As remarked by Vogel, the date of the inscription proves that the spot was associated with the worship of the Nāga Dadhikarṇṇa previous to the foundation of the Huviṣka *vihāra*.

33

Facsimile: below p. 267

§ 28

K 27

Inscription on the fragment of a seated Buddha discovered in the courtyard of the Magistrate's Court-house probably brought to light in 1860 when foundations of the building were laid.¹ The fragment is now in the Mathurā Museum.

Growse edited the inscription in Mathurā¹ 1874 Pt 2, p. 173 (2nd ed. 1880, p. 106 + pl.), and Ind. Ant. 6. 1877, p. 217 No 1 + pl. It was treated again, chiefly with regard to the restoration of the mutilated name of the king occurring in the date, by: Fleet, JRAS 1903, p. 330f.; Lüders, Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 38f. No 8; Fleet, JRAS 1905, p. 358; Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 60 (A 49), JRAS 1910, p. 1314; Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 1315ff.

TEXT

///((Vā)[s](i)ṣkasya rājyasamvatsare 20 8 hemanta 3 d[i] ..///

TRANSLATION

In the year 28 of the reign of ... Vāṣiṣka, in the 3rd (month) of winter, on the .. day

The credit of having recognised the correct restoration of the king's name is due to Fleet who, relying on the Sāñcī inscription List No 161 and the present inscription, advocated already in 1903 the existence of a king named Vāsaṣka, Vāṣiṣka or Vāseṣka between Kaniṣka and Huviṣka. His presumption was finally proved by the discovery of the Īsāpur inscription §94: L. 149a dated in the year 24 in the reign of Vāṣiṣka.

As pointed out by Fleet (JRAS 1903) and later on by Vogel (JRAS 1910) the remnant of the *akṣara* preceding *ṣkasya* can only be the bottom part of a *sa* and the name of the king must therefore be restored to *((Vā)[s](i)ṣkasya* as it is done above.

¹ [Cf. above p. 58, n. 1.]

Inscription on the base of a Buddha image of which only the feet remain. It was found in the Jamālpur mound and is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum (B 3).

The inscription was first brought to notice by Growse, JASB 47, 1. 1878, p. 130 No 2. He referred to it again in Mathurā² 1880, p. 107. Growse deciphered only the date to which Cunningham also confined himself when he noticed the inscription, ASI [Ann.] Rep. 17. 1884, p. 108. The full text was edited by R. D. Bandyopādhyāya [= R. D. Banerji¹], JPASB 5. 1909, p. 243f., and again, now under the name of R. D. Banerji, Ep. Ind. 10. 1909/10, p. 112f. No 6 + pl. 1. [The formula of benediction (line 2) was read by Lüders, Acta Orientalia 18. 1940, p. 24.]

The inscription seems to have suffered a good deal since 1908 when Banerji's estampages were taken. In the last line, which is nearly complete in the reproduction in the Ep. Ind., now only the upper portion of the letters remain. My reading of this line is based on the photograph and an old rubbing.²

TEXT

- 1 mahār[a]jasya d[a]vaputrasya³ Huveṣkasya⁴ savatsare 50 1 hemanta-
māsa⁵ 1 d[i]va[s] [a]sya [p]u[rva]yā⁶ [bhi]kṣu[nā]⁷ [B]uddh[a]-
varmaṇā⁸ [bhagava]taḥ [Śāk]y[am]u..⁹
2 pratimā pratiṣṭāpita¹⁰ sarva[p]uddhapūjārt[th]a[m]¹¹ anana¹² d[e]ya-

¹ [Cf. below Bibliography, p. 241, n. 1.]

² [The rubbing is lost now.]

³ Banerji: *deva*-, but there is no *e*-sign.

⁴ Banerji: *Huveṣkasya*. The *e*-sign of *ve* is quite distinct.

⁵ Banerji: *hamanta*. The *e*-sign of *he* is short, but certainly intended.

⁶ Banerji: [as]y[ām] pu[rvvā]yām. From the estampage only the reading given above can be made out.

⁷ Banerji: [bhi]kṣuno. The [nā] is not certain, it may be [nā], but not *no*.

⁸ Banerji: *-varma[nāḥ]*. The *nā* is distinct.

⁹ Banerji: [Śākya?], omitting *bhagavataḥ*, of which only the last syllable is quite distinct. Restore probably: [Śāk]y[am]u(neḥ).

¹⁰ Banerji: *pratiṣṭāpit[ā]*. There is no *ā*-sign on the *ta*.

¹¹ Banerji: *sarva-Buddhapūjartha[m]*. The reading given above is certain. [Cf. Banerji, loc. cit., note 4. — The *mātrkā* of the third *akṣara* is comparatively small; at the top of its left part there seems to be marked a short stroke to the right. The engraver may have intended to write *bu* but failed to finish the letter completely.]

¹² Banerji: *an[e]na*, but the first *na* has no *e*-sign. [The word begins with an initial *α*.]

dharmaparityāgen[a] upadhy[ā]yasya¹ Saghadāsasya² [n]īrvā[n]ā-
[va]ptaye[s]t[u]³ mātāp[it].....

3 Buddh[a]vvarmas[y]a sarvad(u)khopāsamāya sarvasatvahitasukh[ā]-
r[th]a⁴ mahārājad[a](v)a(putrav)ihāre⁵

TRANSLATION

In the year 51 of *mahārāja devaputra* Huveṣka, in the 1st month of winter, on the .. day, on this date, an image of the holy Śākyamuni was set up by the monk Buddhavarman for the worship of all Buddhas. Through this bestowal of the religious gift⁶ let there be attainment of Nirvāṇa by the teacher Saghadāsa (*Saṅghadāsa*), for the cessation of all unhappiness of (his) parents ... of Buddhavarman, for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings. In the *vihāra* of *mahārāja devaputra*.

60

Facsimiles: below p. 269f.

§ 30

K 58

The inscription is engraved on an oblong stone slab found by Cunningham in the Jamālpur mound. The right upper corner is broken off and near the bottom a large piece of the surface of the stone has peeled off. The slab seems to have disappeared soon after its discovery.

Among the materials collected by the late Professor Hoernle for the second volume of the CII there is an impression of the inscription which bears a note on the margin probably written by Cunningham himself: "The only impression now available. The stone has been lost at Agra." Besides this impression the Hoernle collection contains two facsimiles. The one is an eye-copy in red and blue pencil on a slightly reduced scale, made according to a marginal note by Captain Watts, Royal Engineers, the other is a pencil-tracing on transparent paper, perhaps made from

¹ The ā-sign seems to have been attached to the middle of *dha*. [Cf. the ā-sign of *mā* in *hemantamāsa*.]

² Banerji: *Sa[m]gha*-, but there is no *anusvāra*.

³ Banerji: *[nīrvāṇāvā]ptaye-stu*. The third and fourth *akṣaras* cannot be *nāvā*. Spellings such as *avapya*, *avaptam*, *avaptu*- are frequent in the Mss. of the Kuṣāṇ and early Gupta times.

⁴ Banerji: *-sukhārtha[m]*. There is no *anusvāra*. Perhaps the reading was *-rtham*, the final *m* being broken off [cf. above p. 64, n. 11 with Banerji's note 4]. [In the reproduction in the Ep. Ind. there is no dot in the centre of the last *akṣara*, i. e. the letter looks there like *rtha*.]

⁵ Banerji: *De[vaputra]-*, but there is probably no *e*-sign attached to the *da*.

⁶ [Cf. Lüders, loc. cit.]

the stone itself, but afterwards gone over with China-ink, blue and red pencil, and practically of little value.

The inscription was edited by Rajendralala Mitra, JASB 39, 1. 1870, p. 129 No 15 + pl. 6 (cf. also p. 123), by Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 183 No 4 + pl., by Cunningham, ASI [Ann.] Rep. 3. 1873, p. 32 No 8 + pl. 15.

Later on Bühler, Ep. Ind. 1. 1892, p. 373 note 7, and Cunningham, Numismatic Chronicle, ser. 3, vol. 12. 1892°, p. 50 note 6, corrected the reading of the year.

Lüders treated the inscription Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 106f. No 20, and edited it again from the materials described above, which have served also as the basis of the present edition, in Ep. Ind. 9. 1907/08, p. 241—246 + pl. [with a treatise on the symbol for 70 in the Northern Brāhmī inscriptions coming from Mathurā or its neighbourhood. Rapson, who read the sign as 40, gave detailed arguments for his opinion in: Indian Studies in Honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman 1929, p. 49ff. Lüders in his answer (Acta Orientalia 10. 1931, p. 118ff. = Phil. Ind., p. 721ff.; cf. also p. 789) is convinced that he could settle the question using new materials from the manuscript remains found in Eastern Turkestan. There (p. 119f. = p. 722f.) he mentioned the present inscription again.]

TEXT

- 1 mahārajāsyā¹ rā²(.....)
- 2 sya devaputrasya Vāsu³(.....)
- 3 savatsare 70⁴ 4 varṣam[ā]⁵-
- 4 se prathame divase
- 5 tri[śe]⁶ 30 asyaṃ purvvaṃ
- 6 Talakiy[e]⁷ mahadāṇḍa-
- 7 nāyakasya Va-

¹ I formerly read *mahārajāsyā*, but the vertical attached to the middle bar of the *ja* which appears in the impression as well as in Capt. Watts' eye-copy and in the drawing cannot be accidental.

² The *ā*-stroke is probable. Restore: *rā(jātirāja)/sya*.

³ As regards the restoring of the name, I refer to the remarks given in the following text.

⁴ As stated already in my former edition, the sign has the shape of a plain St. Andrew's cross. As such it appears also in Capt. Watts' eye-copy and in the drawing. Owing to a flaw in the stone, a small portion of the lower left cross-bar of the symbol has disappeared. In the impression somebody has tried to restore the missing portion by adding in pencil a hook turning upwards, but there is nothing to warrant this restoration.

⁵ The upper portion of the *ma* and the sign of the length are indistinct.

⁶ The *e*-sign is indistinct.

⁷ The *e*-sign is not very distinct and the reading *Talakiyaṃ* would be possible.

8 lānas[y]a¹ K[ś]aṇḍamihi²-
 9 (... ..)³
 [mahādaṇḍa]⁴

TRANSLATION

In the year 74 of *mahārāja rā(jātirāja) devaputra Vāsu(deva)*, in the first month of the rainy season, on the thirtieth -30- day, on this date, at Talakiya (or: Talakī) of the great general Valāna Kṣa-ṇḍamihi(ra)

The problem of restoring the king's name occurring in the date has been discussed in my previous paper. It is true, there seems not to be sufficient space for the three *akṣaras devasya* at the end of line 2 and the lacuna would better be filled by *śkasya*, but there is no evidence that there ever was a Kuśān king by the name of Vāsuśka. The Mathurā inscription mentioned by Führer as being dated in S. 76 in the reign of Vāsuśka⁵ has never turned up, and I consider it almost certain that it never existed. For the present, therefore, it will be safer to restore the name as *Vāsu-(devasya)*. As the writing of the record is not very regular, it is after all not impossible that *devasya* was engraved in smaller and more compressed characters than the rest of the line.

Owing to the mutilated state of the inscription, its general purport cannot even be conjectured.

Valāna, the name of the *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* is certainly a foreign and probably an Iranian name. In the inscription § 119: L. 14d, incised on the pedestal of the statue of some foreign chief, the name of the person represented by the statue is called Ulāna. The two names are so similar that I am inclined to look at them as different spellings of the same name, and as Ulāna also is styled *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* it is not unlikely that the Valāna of the present inscription is the very person that was represented by the statue.

K[ś]aṇḍamihi is probably to be restored as *K[ś]aṇḍamihi(ra)*, and this appears to be another personal name, evidently, just like Vakamihira,

¹ I formerly read the name *Vālinas[y]a*, but the apparent elongation of the serif of *va* is probably due to a fissure in the stone and so is the stroke which gives the *ā*-sign of *lā* the appearance of the *i*-sign.

² My former reading *k[ṣe]t[re]* is wrong. The subscript *-sa* of *kṣa* is damaged, but certain. There is no *e*-sign added to *kṣa*. What I took to be *t[re]* or *t[ro]*, appears to be *ṇḍa*.

³ This line has entirely disappeared.

⁴ Of this word only faint traces are visible in the impression. The reading rests almost entirely on Capt. Watts' eye-copy which shows the upper portion of the letters. [Referring to this line Watts remarked on his copy: "On a lower piece of the stone and much broken; the red appears to be traces of characters."] Instead of *da* Capt. Watts gives *de*. It is hardly necessary to say that under these circumstances the reading of the word is very doubtful.

⁵ [Cf. Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 106, note 55.]

V[akamih]ira or Vv[a]gamihira in §60:L.127, §61:L.141, and §62:L.128 (in B or A), of Iranian origin. Perhaps the original reading was *Kṣaṇḍamihiraputrasya*, for, although the statement of the descent generally precedes the personal name, the preserved order would not be without parallel as is shown by the inscriptions §133:L.14e and §137:L.149b.

Talakiya or Talakī seems to designate some locality.

62

Facsimile: below p. 270

§ 31

K 59

Inscription around the circular torus of a pillar from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (M 2d).

It was edited by Rajendralala Mitra, JASB 39, 1. 1870, p. 127 No 1 + pl. 4, and by Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 182f. No 1 + pl. Cunningham corrected the reading of the last word, *ibid.*, p. 195, and edited the whole inscription ASI [Ann.] Rep. 3. 1873, p. 33 No 12 + pl. 14. The text published by Growse, Mathurā¹ 1874 Pt 1, p. 74 note and Pt 2, p. 172 No 5, is based on the previous editions. A correction was made by Raj. Mitra, Buddha Gayā 1878°, p. 187 note a. The inscription was edited again by Lüders, Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 101 No 11 [who subsequently referred to it Ep. Ind. 24. 1937/38. 1942, p. 200].

TEXT

saṃ 70 7 gr 4 di 4 mahārājasya rājātirājasya devapūtrasya Hūv[i]-
ṣkasya v[i]hāre dānaṃ bh[i]kṣusya¹ Jivakasya² Oḍḍiyanakasya kuṃ-
bhako 20 5 sarvasatvahitasūkha³ bhavatu saghe⁴ c[ā]turdiśe

TRANSLATION

In the year 77, in the 4th (month) of summer, on the 4th day, in the monastery of *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra* Hūviṣka the gift of the monk Jivaka (*Jivaka*), the Oḍḍiyanaka (native from *Uḍḍiyāna*), (consisting in) pillar-base 25. May welfare and happiness of all sentient beings prevail. To the community of the four quarters.

The last two words are apparently supplementary. Their proper place would be before or after *kuṃbhako 20 5*.

¹ To judge from the reverse of the impression the first *akṣara* is possibly *bhī*.

² In *ji* the sign of the short *-i* seems to be certain.

³ There seems to be no *anusvāra* above the *kha*.

⁴ Here again there is no *anusvāra* above the *sa*. [But there is a distinct stroke above the *ghe* which may be meant for an *anusvāra*. In that case we would have to read *sagheṃ* which may be explained as a clerical error for the expected *samghe*. The engraver seems to have marked the *anusvāra* not above the *sa*, but above the following *akṣara*.]

62a

Facsimiles: below p. 271

§ 32

K 60

Inscription on a pillar-base from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Mathurā Museum.

The inscription, cut on the face of the square basement, was edited by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 179 (P 38). It is in a very bad state of preservation.

TEXT

- 1 [saṃ] 70 7 gr̥ 4 [d]i 20 [a]syam̐ [p]urvayam̐ [bh]ikṣu[s]y[ā]
 [s]ya¹
 2

TRANSLATION

In the year 77, in the 4th (month) of summer, on the 20th day, on this date, (the gift) of the monk

62b

Facsimile: below p. 272

§ 33

K 61

Two inscriptions on a pillar-base from the Jamālpur mound, preserved in the Public Library at Allahabad until 1907 and now in the Mathurā Museum.

They were edited by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 175f. (P 20). The writing is utterly clumsy. The record A runs around the top of the torus, and B is cut on one side of the base.

TEXT

- A danam̐ bhikṣusya Buddhiśreṣṭhasya² caturvvi(d)yasya³ bhaṣa(ṇa)-
 [k]āśya⁴ sam̐ghe caturdd[iṣe] saṃ 70 7 gr̥ 4 di 20 5⁵
 B dan[a]m̐ Buddh[i]śreṣṭhasya bhaṣana[kas]ya

¹ The name may have been *Dharmmadevasya* or *Dharmmadattasya*, but this is quite uncertain. The rest of the line and the whole second line are obliterated.

² There is a distinct dot in the centre of the circle denoting *tha*.

³ Of the last but one *akṣara* of this word only the subscript *-ya* is tolerably clear. The (*d*)- is conjectural; also the readings *tya*, *dhya*, *vya* would be possible.

⁴ Vogel reads: *bhaja* *kasya*. That the second *akṣara* is *ṣa* is proved by the second inscription (B) where the reading *ja* instead of *ṣa* is impossible. The *ṇa* is very badly shaped.

⁵ It is just possible that after that date something like *asyām pūrvāyām* was added, but it is quite obliterated.

TRANSLATION

A The gift of the monk Buddhīśreṣṭha (*Buddhīśreṣṭha*), a preacher who knows the fourfold scriptures, to the community of the four quarters, in the year 77, in the 4th (month) of summer, on the 25th day (...)

B The gift of Buddhīśreṣṭa (*Buddhīśreṣṭha*), the preacher.

It will be noticed that the length of the *a*-vowel is not expressed in writing in this inscription, and perhaps even in the wrongly spelled *bhaṣa(ṇa)[k]āśya*, the *ā*-stroke is after all merely accidental.

I take *bhaṣanaka*, *bhaṣanaka* to stand for *bhāṣanaka* and consider it a synonym of *bhāṇaka*, *bhānaka* or *bhanaka* occurring in the inscriptions of Sāñci, Bhārhut and Kārle.

Caturvidya, provided my reading is correct, would seem to refer to the knowledge of the four Āgamas of the Buddhist Canon, the Dīrgha-, Madhyama-, Samyukta- and Ekottara-Āgama, and it was probably used in imitation or rather in rivalry with the Brahmanical terms *caturvidya*, *cāturvidya*, *cāturvaidya*, *caturveda*, *caturvedin*, 'one who knows the four Vedas'.

63

Facsimile: below p. 271

§ 34

K 62

Inscription on a pillar-base from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (M 2f).

It was edited by Rajendralala Mitra, JASB 39, 1. 1870, p. 127 No 2 + pl. 4, by Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 183 No 2 + pl., by Cunningham, ASI [Ann.] Rep. 3. 1873, p. 34 No 13 + pl. 14, by Lüders, Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 102 No 13, by R. D. Bandyopādhyāya [= R. D. Banerji¹], JPBAS 5. 1909, p. 238 No 1 + pl. 10. It was referred to by Ramaprasad Chanda, Mem. ASI 5. 1920, p. 171, and by Vogel, ASI Ann. Rep. 1908/09. 1912, p. 160.

TEXT

dānaṃ Devilasya Dadhikarṇṇa-devakulikasya saṃ 70 7 gr̥ 4 divase
20 [9]²///

TRANSLATION

The gift of Devila, the priest at the shrine of Dadhikarṇṇa, in the year 77, in the 4th (month) of summer, on the 29th day.

¹ [Cf. below Bibliography, p. 241, n. 1.]

² The last figure of the date is not quite distinct, but the reading 9 is probable.

64 (= 61, 64a)¹

Facsimile: below p. 273

§ 35

K 63

Two inscriptions on a pillar-base from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (M 2e).

There can be no doubt that the inscriptions edited by Rajendralala Mitra, JASB 39, 1. 1870, p. 130 No 17 + pl. 6, No 18 + pl. 7², by Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 183 No 5 + pl., by Cunningham, ASI [Ann.] Rep. 3. 1873, p. 33 No 11 + pl. 14, are all identical with the following inscription A, although Raj. Mitra strangely misread the date and Dowson's and Cunningham's facsimiles show distinctly *gra* 3 (transcribed as *Gri* 3 by Dowson and as *Gr.* 3 by Cunningham) instead of *va* 1 and *Dharmmadevasya* (transcribed as *Dharmma devasya* by Dowson and as *Dharma Devasya* by Cunningham) instead of *Dharmmadatasya*. That these divergent readings owe their existence only to the imagination of the editors is proved by an old rubbing of the inscription A in which the letters are traced in ink. This tracing agrees in every respect with Dowson's and Cunningham's facsimiles. Lüders tried to establish the text of the inscription Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 101f. No 12, but failed, being misled by the untrustworthy facsimiles. The first reliable reading of the inscription A was published by R. D. Bandyopādhyāya [= R. D. Banerji³], JPBAS 5. 1909, p. 238 No 2a + pl. 10.

He was also the first who edited the inscription B, which is engraved on another face of the pillar and was left unnoticed until then, JPBAS 5. 1909, p. 239 No 2b + pl. 10.

TEXT

A saṃvatsare 70 7 va [1]⁴ divase 5 asya purvvāy[e] dā[na]ṃ⁵ bhi-
kṣ[u]sya Dharmmadata[s]ya⁶

¹ [Cf. above p. 58 with note 2.]

² Raj. Mitra's No 17 and 18 are apparently facsimiles of the same original.

³ [Cf. below Bibliography, p. 241, n. 1.]

⁴ There is a stroke to the left on the top of the *va* which makes the *akṣara* look like *ve*, but it is probably accidental. As regards the numeral, the impression shows only one horizontal stroke keeping the line with the rest of the writing, but there is above that stroke a slightly slanting line which I take to be an accidental scratch just as the square dot immediately to the left of it. Bandyopādhyāya took it as part of the numeral and thus arrived at the reading *va* 2.

⁵ There can be little doubt that *dānaṃ* is the intended reading, but it must be admitted that the *na* is quite abnormal.

⁶ [The *kṣa* shows besides the *u*-sign also the *ā*-sign.] The *da* is very badly shaped.

- B 1 d[i]nnam¹ bh[i]kṣusya Dharmmadattasya dharmakathikasya sam-
 ṅhe c[a]tudiśe² savat.a³
 2 [re 70] . . . [r.] . . . ā[nā⁴ hi]tasukhaye bhavat[u]

TRANSLATION

A In the year 77, in the 1st (month) of the rainy season, on the 5th day, on this date, the gift of the monk Dharmmadatta (*Dharmadatta*).

B The gift of the monk, the preacher Dharmmadatta, to the community of the four quarters May it be for the welfare and happiness (of all sentient beings).

125y

Facsimile: below p. 273

§ 36

K 187

Inscription on a pillar-base from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Mathurā Museum. It is cut on the face of the square basement.

Vogel noticed the inscription as obliterated, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 179 (P 39).

TEXT

[dānaṃ bhikṣu]sya [Dha]r[madatas]y[a] sya⁵

TRANSLATION

The gift of the monk Dharmadatta (*Dharmadatta*), the

Compare §35: L. 64 (A and B).

65

Facsimile: below p. 274

§ 37

K 65

Inscription on a pillar-base from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription is cut on the face of a square basement. The left corner is missing.

¹ The *i*-sign looks more like an *ā*-sign, perhaps owing to a fissure in the stone.

² The seeming *e*-sign on the top of the *ca* is probably accidental.

³ Bandyopādhyāya read *sa(ṃ)vatsa(ra)* , but the subscript sign of the third *akṣara* can hardly be *-sa*. The *akṣara* looks like *tra* [or *tca*], and there was no more writing at the end of the first line. In the beginning of line 2 there are faint traces of letters which may have been *re 70* ?, but the reading is quite uncertain and there is not room enough for the date of the month and the day. Under these circumstances it is extremely doubtful whether the date was repeated in this inscription.

⁴ Restore: *(sa)[r](vasatv)ā[nā](ṃ)*.

⁵ Apart from details in the spelling, the first two words may be called certain, the reading of the name is possible, the last word is illegible. [In the rubbing of our collection the last two *akṣaras* of the inscription, i.e. . . *sya*, are missing.]

It was edited by Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 184 No 7 + pl., by Cunningham, ASI [Ann.] Rep. 3. 1873, p. 34 No 14 + pl. 14, by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 179 (P 35).

TEXT

¹ Dattas(y)a² :³ 20 6 [sa]ṃ⁴ 70 7 va 1⁵ d[i] 10 1⁶

TRANSLATION

(The gift of the monk) Datta, (the pillar-base No) 26, in the year 77, in the 1st (month) of the rainy season, on the 11th day.

The reading and translation of this inscription, which is of consequence for the question of the size of the building to which the pillar belonged, will be discussed in connection with the following inscription.

139

Facsimile: below p. 274

§ 38

K 203

Inscription on a pillar-base from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Mathurā Museum. It is cut on the face of the square basement. The right corner is missing.

The record was edited by Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 188 No 27, and by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 179 (P 34).

TEXT

1 danam bhikṣusya Dattas(y)a⁷ 30 7⁸ saṅghe cātu-
2 (rd)[i](śe) saṃ [70 7]⁹

TRANSLATION

The gift of the monk Datta, (the pillar-base No) 37, to the community of the four (quarters), in the year 77 (... ..)⁹

¹ [At the beginning of the inscription below the line there is in the impression a hook to the right with a horizontal stroke at the top and a cross-bar in the middle. It is perhaps not quite impossible that the sign is meant as *ku*, the abbreviation of *kumbhako*.]

² The upper *ta* of *tta* in *Dattas(y)a* is much clearer in a rubbing of Cunningham than in the impression. As for the rest see the remarks under the next inscription.

³ [After the first word there are two dots which seem to have been engraved on purpose; cf. below p. 74f. But similar dots appear in § 40: L. 133B, and § 63: L. 125q.]

⁴ The *sa* though practically certain is quite blurred.

⁵ Dowson and Cunningham read the sign as 4, Vogel as 1.

⁶ There may have been a second line of writing.

⁷ See the remarks in the following text.

⁸ The reading of the figures is perfectly certain.

⁹ Of this line which has not been noticed previously only the *saṃ* is tolerably clear. There seems to have been no more writing in this line.

In the impression the *akṣara* following *Datta* looks like *su*, but the reading would be void of sense. Nor can the character be taken as the figure for 100, as after the words *danam bhikṣusya* the name of the monk is necessarily in the genitive case. Under these circumstances there can be no doubt that the original reading was *Dattasya* and that the disappearance of the lower portion of the subscript *-ya* is due to the peeling off of the surface of the stone.

The established text of this inscription is of importance for the reading and interpretation of that part of the inscription §37: L. 65 which precedes the date. Dowson (JRAS 5. 1870, p. 184 No 7) read it *datta stambha*, followed by three figures which he took as 100 20 6. The *mbha* was of course meant as supplementary, and Cunningham in his reprint of Dowson's text (ASI [Ann.] Rep. 3. 1873, p. 34 No 14) wrote more correctly *datta sta(mbha)* 126. Dowson translated the words: *presented pillar 126*. But the use of *datta* is uncommon in the donation inscriptions, and quite apart from the very improbable abbreviation of the word, *stambha* is out of place here, as in these pillar-base inscriptions, wherever the object of the gift is mentioned at all¹, it is the base (*kumbhaka*) and not the pillar itself that is said to have been presented. After the supposed *sta* two dots or small strokes, which are possibly the remnants of a vertical line, are visible in the impression. Dowson converted them rather arbitrarily into the sign for 100 in a form that has never existed in reality. Vogel seems to have taken no account of those dots, but his reading *datta 126* shows that he also tried to establish the number 126 in the record by interpreting the character after *datta* as the figure for 100. However, this interpretation, though perhaps not impossible from the palaeographical point of view, would entail serious difficulties.

As remarked above, the use of *datta* is, to say the least, unusual, but the absence of an ending would be inexplicable. Secondly the number would seem to be too high. From a comparison with the text of §31: L. 62 and §63: L. 125q it appears that the numbers in the inscriptions §37: L. 65 and §38: L. 139 are the numbers of the pillar-bases. Until now 47 bases of the hall in the Huvīṣka-vihāra have been recovered. There may have been a few more, but it is quite unlikely that 79 should have disappeared or escaped notice as would be implied by reading "126" in §37: L. 65.

I am therefore convinced that what was taken hitherto as the letter *sta* or the figure for 100 in §37: L. 65 is a *sya* with the lower portion of the subscript *-ya* crumbled off similarly as in §38: L. 139. The donor mentioned in the two inscriptions was no doubt the same person and *dānam bhikṣusya* has probably to be added at the beginning of §37: L. 65.

¹ §31: L. 62, §46: L. 126, §47: L. 125s, §48: L. 125t, §49: L. 125u, §54: L. 125r, §63: L. 125q.

As regards the dots between *Dattas(y)a* and 26 in that inscription, I would suggest that they are a mark of insertion and that the word to be inserted, *kumbhako*, stood below 26. [Cf. above p. 73, n. 1!]

132

Facsimile: below p. 275

§ 39

K 192

Two inscriptions, one on the square base and the other around the torus of a pillar from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (M 2b).

Comparing the impression of the inscription on the square base (B) with the facsimile published by Rajendralala Mitra in connection with the edition of his No 19 (JASB 39, 1. 1870, p. 130 + pl. 7), it appears that the two records are identical. Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 155 No 40, Lüders tried to restore the inscription from the aforesaid facsimile.

The inscription round the torus (A), engraved in the interstices between four *maṅgala* symbols¹, is edited here for the first time.

TEXT

B 1 [dā]naṃ² bhikṣusya Buddha[ra]k[ṣ]itasya Va[d]akṣas[y]a³ s[a]ṅghe
cāturdiśe⁴ sa 70 7.

2 . . . di 20⁵

A dānaṃ +¹ Buddh[a] rakṣi + tasy[ā]⁶ + V[a]ḍa kṣasy[ā]⁷ +

TRANSLATION

B The gift of the monk Buddharakṣita, the Va[d]akṣa, to the Community of the four quarters, in the year 77, . . . on the 20th day

¹ [In the transcript of the text the four *maṅgala* symbols are marked by: +. But there are two more interstices without such symbols. These are given also to show that the engraver always wrote two *akṣaras* side by side.]

² The first letter is blurred and the *ā*-sign is uncertain.

³ It is not quite impossible that there was an *anusvāra* above the *va*. The *ḍa* shows the later form. [Concerning this *akṣara*, later on Lüders wrote “*da*” on the margin of his manuscript; for the *akṣara* itself see Bühler, Palaeographie, Tafel III, 18, 6 (*ḍa*) or 23, 4 (*da*).]

⁴ The *ā*-sign of *cā* seems to be certain.

⁵ There seems to have been some more writing after 20, but it is quite effaced.

⁶ In *buddha* the second *akṣara* looks like *dhā*, but the seeming *ā*-stroke may be just as accidental as the horizontal stroke above the *ta* which has the appearance of an *anusvāra*. [The same horizontal stroke appears above the *kṣa* of the next word, in both instances before the same group of sounds *sy[ā]*. From the purely graphical point of view it would be not impossible to read *Buddh[ā]rakṣi-taṃsyā* and *Vuḍakṣaṃsy[ā]*.]

⁷ [Cf. note 6.]

A The gift of Buddharakṣita, the Vaḍakṣa.

As regards the epithet of the monk, see the remarks under §40: L. 133.

133 (= 134)

Facsimile: below p. 276

§ 40

K 193

Two inscriptions, one on the square base and the other around the torus of a pillar from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Indian Museum Calcutta (M 2i).

The inscription on the square base (B) appears to be identical with the inscription (List No 133:) published by Rajendralala Mitra, JASB 39, 1. 1870, p. 128 No 10 + pl. 5, and by Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 187 No 17, although instead of *Vaṇḍakṣasya* Dowson read *ca bhikṣusya*, and Raj. Mitra in his transcript and in the facsimile *mabhikṣusya*. The writing has evidently been altered in the facsimile just as in §39: L. 132, where Raj. Mitra in his transcript gave *mabhikṣusya* instead of *Vaḍakṣasya*.

I have little doubt that also the inscription (List No 134:) published by Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 186 No 14, and by Raj. Mitra, JASB 39, 1. 1870, p. 128 No 7 + pl. 5 is identical with the present inscription B, although in this case *Vaṇḍakṣasya* was replaced by *Śākyabhikṣusya* in Dowson's and by *Śākya bhikṣusya* in Raj. Mitra's transcript. The facsimile shows something like *śakyabhikṣasya*, but in every other respect it closely agrees with our inscription. Raj. Mitra stated that the base bearing his inscription No 7 was deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society. In that case it ought to be now in the Indian Museum, but among the pillar-bases in the Museum there is none with an inscription containing the term *Śākyabhikṣu*. So we may rest assured that the reading *Śākyabhikṣusya* is due merely to arbitrary alteration.

The inscription B was treated by Lüders, Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 155 with notes 4—8, and edited again by R. D. Bandyopādhyāya [= R. D. Banerji¹], JPBAS 5. 1909, p. 241f. No 7 + pl. 11.

The inscription around the torus (A), which is engraved in the interstices between four *maṅgala* symbols, is edited here for the first time.

TEXT

B 1 danam² bhikṣ[u]sya [:]³ Buddharakṣitasya⁴ Vaṇḍakṣasya⁵ sam-
[ṅgh](e)

¹ [Cf. below Bibliography, p. 241, n. 1.]

² Bandyopādhyāya: *dānam*, but there is no sign of the length on the *da*.

³ The second *akṣara* shows besides the *u*-sign also the *i*-sign, so we may read it as *kṣu* or as *kṣi*. [After the *sya* two dots, one below the other, seem to be engraved. Cf. above p. 73, n. 3.]

⁴ The fourth letter is distinctly *kṣi*, not *kṣi*, as read by Bandyopādhyāya.

⁵ Bandyopādhyāya read the first *akṣara* as *bha*, but it is distinctly *va* as in the other passages where the word occurs.

2 cāturdīś[e]¹A dānam² + ³ · · + · ·² + Buddha r[a]kṣi tasyā⁴ + Va[m]ḍa kṣasyā⁵

TRANSLATION

B The gift of the monk Buddharaṣṭita (*Buddharakṣita*), the Vaṇḍakṣa, to the community of the four quarters.

A The gift of Buddharaṣṭita, the Vaṇḍakṣa.

The epithet *Vaṇḍakṣa*, *Vaṇḍakṣa* or: *Vaḍakṣa* [or *Vadakṣa*, cf. p. 75, n. 3], as it is probably spelt in §39: L.132, seems to refer to the native place of the donor as *Oḍḍyanaka* in §31: L.62. Is there a connection between *Vaḍakṣa* and *Baḍaḥṣān*, Afghan *Balaḥṣān*?⁶ Or between *Vaḍakṣa* and *Vālukṣa*, which in the Mahāvastu 3, p. 310, 14 is mentioned as the name of the town where Trapura and Bhallika erected the Nail-Stūpa (*nakhaṣṭūpaṃ kārāpitam*)? According to Hsüan-tsang the Stūpas erected by the two merchants were in the neighbourhood of the capital of Balkh.⁷

89

Facsimile: below p. 277

§ 41

K 107

Fragmentary inscription around the margin of a stone, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (M 11 [as marked on our impression, Bandyopādhyāya however:] M 9).

The stone⁸ seems to have been the pedestal of a statue, but was utilised later on for some other purpose. Then the margin on the right-hand

¹ Bandyopādhyāya: *cātudīśe*. The ā-sign is highly probable, the ī-sign and the r- are quite clear, and only the e-sign is indistinct.

² The ā-sign of *dā* is not quite certain. [The first *maṅgala* symbol after *dānam* represents a sitting figure; cf. the *maṅgala* symbol between *kṣasy[ā]* and *dānam* in §39: L. 132, A.] There was possibly some more writing between *dānam* and the following name, but if so, it has been entirely obliterated. It is true, there are some strokes above the second *maṅgala* symbol (a *svastika*), which might be taken as traces of letters, but they are probably accidental as this is just the place where we should least expect any writing. Moreover, the corresponding inscription §39: L. 132 has only the three words given above. [Concerning these seeming traces of letters, Lüders later on remarked in his manuscript:] *bhikṣoḥ* above *svastika*?

³ [In the transcript the four *maṅgala* symbols are marked by: +.]

⁴ The ā-sign of *syā* is distinct.

⁵ The *va* is certain and the *anusvāra* very probable.

⁶ Horn, *Neupersische Schriftsprache* §22,5 (Grundriß der iran. Philologie 1898—1901, 1,2,p. 57). In Chinese the name occurs as *Pa-t'o-shan*, in Tibetan as *Ba-to-san* (taken from the Chinese) and *Ba-dag-san*, *Ba-dag-sa*, *Ba-thag-sad*; see F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, Pt 1 (1935), p. 158.

⁷ Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. 1 (1904), p. 111 ff.

⁸ [Raj. Mitra called it "a flight of stone steps" (cf. op. cit., p. 119 note, p. 121), and Dowson "a stone ladder"; it was described by Bandyopādhyāya as "a row of niches on the opposite side of which is a sculptured panel, now almost worn away. Only two niches and the following fragments of the inscription still remain".]

side was cut off, which caused the loss of the greater part of the inscription engraved on that side. The left margin (with line 3) is lost altogether. The exact place where the stone is found is not known[, but the inscription was published by Raj. Mitra (see below) as one of the finds made in 1860 by Mr. Best, Collector of Mathurā, in clearing away the earthen mound for the site of the new court-house (cf. JASB 39, 1. 1870, p. 117ff.), i. e. the Jamālpur mound (cf. above p. 57).]

The inscription was edited by Rajendralala Mitra, JASB 39, 1. 1870 p. 129 No 14 + pl. 6, by Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 183 No 3 + pl., by Lüders, Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 150 No 26, by R. D. Bandyopādhyāya [= R. D. Banerji¹], JPBAS 5. 1909, p. 240f. No 4 + pl. 10.

TEXT

- 1 saṃ [r].² diva-
 2 se 10³ asyā pūrvvay[e]⁴ dānaṃ⁵ bhikṣusya Buddhanandi-
 (s)[y](a)⁶
 3 (.....)
 4 [dā]re⁷ sarvvasa[tvā]na⁸ h[i]tasukhā[r]tha⁹ bhava[t]u

TRANSLATION

In the year, on the 10th day, on this date, the gift of the monk Buddhanandi (*Buddhanandin*) May it be for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

90

Facsimile: below p. 277

§ 42

K 110

Inscription on a railing pillar from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Mathurā Museum. It is incised on the obverse to the left of the head of a carved male figure in Indo-Scythian dress standing under a tree.

¹ [Cf. below Bibliography, p. 241, n. 1.]

² Only the lower part of the *ra* is preserved. Restore: saṃ(*vatsa*)r(e). [The [r]- is not represented in our facsimile, cf. below p. 277.]

³ There seems to be no unit following 10.

⁴ [As Lüders remarked later on in his manuscript it is possible to read the last *akṣara* as *ye* or as *yam*; the stroke to the left does not touch the top of the letter.]

⁵ The first *akṣara* looks like *do*, but the stroke to the left is probably accidental.

⁶ Of the last *akṣara* only part of the subscript *-ya* is preserved.

⁷ The first letter is doubtful.

⁸ The first two *akṣaras* are disfigured by several strokes which to judge from the reverse of the impression are accidental.

⁹ The *ha* has the form of the later Eastern script; the *i*-sign is quite indistinct. The *r*- of *rtha* also is indistinct, and there seems to be no vowel-sign at the top of the letter.

The inscription was edited by Cunningham, ASI [Ann.] Rep. 1. 1871, p. 241, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 194 No 30 + pl., ASI [Ann.] Rep. 3. 1873, p. 22. Vogel noticed it Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 146 (J 15).

TEXT

d[i]¹ 10 8

TRANSLATION

On the 18th day.

The real purport of the inscription is not apparent.

91

Facsimile: below p. 277

§ 43

K 111

Inscription on a railing pillar from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum (B 91).

It was published by Cunningham, ASI [Ann.] Rep. 1. 1871, p. 241, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 194 No 31 + pl., ASI [Ann.] Rep. 3. 1873, p. 22.

TEXT

d[i] 20 9²

TRANSLATION

On the 29th day.

The real purport of the inscription is not apparent.

1251

Facsimile: below p. 278

§ 44

K 174

Inscription on a pillar-base from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Mathurā Museum. It runs along the top of the torus and was evidently incised by a person who was only imperfectly acquainted with writing. The inscription shows a strange mixture of forms of the Kuṣāṇ and the Gupta alphabets, and the difficulty of reading is enhanced by the bad preservation of the stone.

¹ Cunningham read the first sign as *100*. Instead of *d[i]* it may be read as *de*.

² Cunningham read the first sign as *100* and in the JRAS the last sign as *7* (probably misprint). — The first *akṣara* may be read as *de*.

A partial reading was published by Cunningham, ASI [Ann.] Rep. 17. 1884, p. 108 No 4, and subsequently edited by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 177 (P 23).

[The text contains eight *maṅgala* symbols which are engraved generally after the seventh *akṣara* irrespective of the meaning of the words. These symbols are marked below by: +; cf. §39: L. 132 and §40: L. 133.]

TEXT

+ [d]ā[na]m¹ bh[ik]ṣus[y]a² B. . . + . . m[i]trasya³ V[o]jya + [vaśi]ka-sya⁴ — [mātap]i + [tṛ]ṇa [abhyat]itaka + laga[tā]nām⁵ pujāy[e] + bhavatu sa[dh]yivi + harīsyā⁶ Dharma[d]ev[a]s[y]a + ar[o]g[a]dākṣi-ṇ[ā]y[e]⁷ [bha]vat[u]⁸

TRANSLATION

The gift of the monk m[i]tra³, the Voḍḍavaśika (?). Let it be for the worship of (his) deceased parents. Let it be for the bestowing of health on (his) companion Dharmadeva.

¹ Of the *dā* only the upper portion is preserved. From the reverse of the estampage it appears that the second *akṣara* which at first sight might be taken as *dā* really is *na* with the serif elongated to the right as frequently in the script of this record. The *anusvāra* is quite distinct.

² The reading of the word omitted by Vogel is perfectly certain.

³ I am unable to make out the first three syllables of the name. The first *akṣara* may be: *ba*, *bu* or *bo*, the second looks like *vr*. The third letter may be *ja*, as assumed by Vogel, or *jya*, but I fail to see which word was meant. The following *m[i]* was read as *[mi]* already by Vogel. It seems to be certain, although the *ma* shows the form of the Gupta script, whereas later on the Kuṣāṇ form is used twice.

⁴ This is Vogel's reading. The reading *vojya* seems pretty clear, but the reading of the following two *akṣaras* is doubtful. [A horizontal stroke is engraved after the word *V[o]jya[vaśi]kasya*.]

⁵ Instead of *[mātap]i[tṛ]ṇa [abhyat]itakalaga[tā]nām* Vogel reads: . . . *hica-ṇḍasya śitakalagatānām*, but, with the exception of some of the vowel-signs our reading may be called certain, although some of the letters are badly shaped and others blurred. The *[p]i* has a horizontal stroke on the right limb which makes it look like *hi*. The *ṛ*-sign of *[tṛ]* seems to have been formed by doubling the *r*-sign of the Gupta script. Below the *ṇa*, which shows the form of the Gupta script, there seems to be another letter which Vogel took to be *ḍa*, and I am ready to admit that from a purely graphical point of view the reading *ṇḍa* would be possible, but grammatically a form *mātapitṛṇḍa* for Sk. *mātapitṛṇām* can hardly be accounted for. Perhaps the seeming letter is after all only due to a scratching in the stone. — There is no *anusvāra* above the *ṇa*. The two letters *[abhya]* and the *mātrkā ta* of *[t]i* are much blurred, but practically certain.

⁶ [Cf. p. 81, n. 4.] Vogel: *sadhivivihārisya*, but the *ha* has no *ā*-sign. The *mātrkā dha* of *[dh]yi* has a vertical line at the top [which perhaps may be meant as a superscript *r*]. The hook at the bottom of the *mātrkā va* of *vi* is made angular. The *syā* is quite misshapen.

⁷ The vowel-signs of *ṇ[ā]y[e]* are doubtful. The *mātrkā ṇa* shows the form of the Gupta script.

⁸ For want of space the last *akṣara* has been added below the line.

Vojyavaśika (?) probably refers to the native place of the donor. The term *abhyatītakālagata* 'deceased' has been taken over from the language of the canonical texts (*abhatīta-kālakata*; *-kālaṃkata*).¹ It occurs also in a Buddhist formulary for the announcing of gifts to the Order from Eastern Turkestan (SPAW 1930, p. 16 = Phil. Ind., p. 609: B verso 2: *abhyatītakālagata*-).

40

Facsimile: below p. 279

§ 45

K 35

Fragmentary inscription on a pillar-base from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (M 2j).

The inscription has been edited by Rajendralala Mitra, JASB 39, 1. 1870, p. 127 No 3 + pl. 5, by Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 185 No 10 + pl., by R. D. Bandyopādhyāya [= R. D. Banerji²], JPBAS 5. 1909, p. 241 No 5 + pl. 10.

TEXT

1 [ku] 2³ dānam bhīksusya Buddhadāsasya Saṅghamitra-
sadevih[ā]rīsa⁴ pacatṛīśasya⁵ ..

2 (.....) ..m [d]ā ...e[t]ai[v]vast[avya]sya⁶

¹ E. g. Dīghanikāya 2, p. 200ff., Majjhimanikāya 1, p. 464f., Samyuttanikāya 4, p. 398f., Theragāthā No 242.

² [Cf. below Bibliography, p. 241, n. 1.]

³ All the three editors have hitherto ignored the two signs preceding *dānam*, although the two horizontal strokes are quite clear. They can denote only the numeral 2. The *akṣara* before 2 is almost entirely effaced in the impression before me, but in Dowson's facsimile it is a distinct *ku*, and as Dowson himself did not recognise the value of the sign, it may be assumed that it is a faithful reproduction of the original. Moreover the traces of the letter still visible in the impression agree with the reading *ku*.

⁴ Bandyopādhyāya: *-sadevihārīsa*, but the *rī* is certain, although the two strokes of the *ī*-sign are somewhat shorter than in *bhī*, *mī* and *trī*. [For the expression itself cf. List, p. 223, where Lüders gave several examples for different readings of equivalents of **sadhryagvihārīn* '(travelling-)companion'.]

⁵ Bandyopādhyāya: *pañcatṛīśasya*, which is quite unfounded. There is a stroke above the *śa* which may be meant for the *anusvāra*. There may have been another *akṣara* at the end of the line.

⁶ At the beginning of the second line about six *akṣaras* are entirely effaced. Of the next five letters only the upper portions are more or less preserved, and also the last four *akṣaras* are not perfectly clear. The *sta* looks like *stā*, but the seeming *ā*-stroke is apparently due to a fissure in the stone. Raj. Mitra's facsimile may be transcribed: *śaṃdāra .. petraivvas[t]avyasya*, Dowson's facsimile: *śaṃdālope. aivva vyasya*, but I am unable to make any sense out of these readings. Bandyopādhyāya's reading: *.aivva sāṅghasya* is absolutely impossible. [Instead of *[v]va* the sixth *akṣara* may be read also as *dva* or even as *ddha*.]

TRANSLATION

Pillar-base 2, the gift of the monk Buddhadāsa, the companion of Saṅghamitra (*Saṅghamitra*), the thirty-fifth ...

Ku I take as the abbreviation of *kumbhako*. I cannot explain the meaning of *pacatṛīśasya*, but it does not seem to refer to the date. Nor dare I decide whether the last word is *vastavyasya* 'to be inhabited' or *vāstavyasya* 'dwelling'.

126

Facsimile: below p. 279

§ 46

K 188

Inscription on a pillar-base from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Mathurā Museum. It is cut on the face of a square basement.

The record was edited by Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 187 No 23 + pl., by Growse, Ind. Ant. 6. 1877, p. 218 No 3 + pl., Mathurā² 1880, p. 154 + pl., by Senart, Journal asiatique 8, 15. 1890, p. 121, note 1 (second line only), by D. R. Bhandarkar, JBBRAS 20 (1897—1900). 1902, p. 269, note 2, by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 176 (P 22). Details were discussed by Lüders, Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 155 with note 100[, who subsequently published the inscription, beginning with the word *anena*, Acta Orientalia 18. 1940, p. 24].

TEXT

- 1 ayam ku[m]bhako¹ dānaṃ bhikṣunaṃ Śurīyasya² Buddharakṣitasya
ca prāhaṇik[ā]n[am]³ an[e]n[a]
2 deryadharmmaparītyāgen[a]⁴ sarvveṣ[a]m⁵ pr[ā]haṇikānaṃ⁶ arogya-
dakṣiṇ[ā]ye⁷ bhavat[ām]⁸

¹ There is a distinct stroke to the right attached to the top of the *ku* which is probably meant for the *anusvāra*.

² The *śu* is perfectly clear.

³ As the impressions show, *prā* was the intended reading. The last two *akṣaras* of the word have been damaged by knocking off a small triangular piece of the stone. A rubbing of Cunningham as well as the plates published with the papers of Dowson and Growse show that this had not yet happened when the rubbing was taken.

⁴ The *r*-stroke in *derya* is quite distinct.

⁵ It seems not impossible that the last *akṣara* is to be read as *ṣām*.

⁶ Here the second letter may be *hā*.

⁷ The horizontal stroke above the *nā* is probably accidental[, but it seems noteworthy that such a stroke is visible also above the second *na* in *an[e]n[a]* and above the *na* in *-tyāgen[a]*].

⁸ The last *akṣara* is distinctly *tām*, not *tu* as read hitherto.

TRANSLATION

This pillar-base is the gift of the monks Śūriya and Buddharakṣita, the practisers of meditation. May this surrender of a pious gift¹ be for the bestowing of health on all practisers of meditation.

The correct Sanskrit form of *prāhaṇika* or possibly *prāhāṇika* would be *prādhāṇika*. In Pali we have *padhāṇika* 'practising *padhāna*, or meditation'. In Buddhist Sanskrit *pradhāna* occurs in its regular form, but more often in the form derived from the Eastern Prakrit as *prahāṇa*.²

The lengthening of the *i* in *prāhaṇika* is the same as in *Śurīyasya* and *-parītyāgena*.

The writing *deryadharmma-* has a parallel in *seryathā* = p. *seyyathā* frequently found in manuscripts of Buddhist Sanskrit texts.

125s and 137

Facsimile: below p. 280

§ 47

K 181

Inscription of two parts engraved on two faces of the square basement of a pillar-base from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Mathurā Museum.

The first part (a) was edited by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 176 (P 21).

The second part (b) alone was noticed by Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 187 No 22, and by Cunningham, ASI [Ann.] Rep. 17. 1884, p. 108 No 3. Of this part Vogel, loc. cit., deciphered only two words.

TEXT

a ayam kumbh[a]k[o]³ dān[a]ṃ saṅghaprakṛt[ā]n[āṃ] Bhadrakhoṣa-
pra[mu]khā[nām]

b 1 Saṅ[gha]d[ā]s[ā]sya Buddhānānd[a]sya⁴ S[a]ṅghadevas[ya Saṅgha]-
... [sya]⁵

2 Dharmap[r]iyas[y]a⁶ Saṅ(gham)[it](r)[as](ya)⁷ ... pri ...⁸///

¹ [Cf. Lüders, Acta Orientalia.]

² See i. g. Mahāvastu 2, p. 124, 1; p. 238, 4ff; Divyāvadāna p. 208, 8; Vajracchedikā p. 43, 7; Lalitavistara p. 246, 8; p. 248, 11f.; p. 261, 4.

³ The *o*-sign is doubtful. The last *akṣara* is perhaps *ka* as read by Vogel.

⁴ [There is a vertical stroke, apparently an accidental cut, touching the right end of the upper part of the ligature *nd[a]* or perhaps *ndā*.]

⁵ Dowson gives this name as *Singha-ghuta*. At present the two *akṣaras* after *saṅgha* are illegible.

⁶ The reading is certain. It is not *dharmadeya* as read by Vogel. [There is a curved line above the *ya* of *p[r]iya* which seems to be only a fissure in the stone.]

⁷ Dowson and, apparently independently, Cunningham also give *Saṅghamitra* which agrees with the remains of the letters visible in the impression. As nobody would be able at present to recognise the name on the stone, it appears that the lower rim of the base has crumbled off since Cunningham examined it.

⁸ Both, Dowson and Cunningham give the last name as *Dharmapriya*. Possibly the original reading was *Dharmapriyasya* followed by about four *akṣaras*, but only the *pri* and faint traces of a following letter can be recognised at present.

TRANSLATION

This pillar-base is the gift of the commissioners of the Community headed by Bhadrakhoṣa, of Saṅghadāsa, Buddhānānda (*Buddhānanda*), Saṅghadeva, Saṅgha . . . , Dharmapriya, Saṅghamitra, . . . pri

As appears from §65: L.140 the *saṅghaprakṛtas* were laymen. The literal meaning of the term is: 'employed by the Saṅgha'. They would therefore seem to have been a body of laymen who were charged by the Buddhist monks with the support of the monastery. The second inscription (b) is obviously the list of the members of that body which in the first inscription (a) is briefly designated as *saṅghaprakṛtas* headed by Bhadrakhoṣa (cf. §48: L.125t and §49: L.125u).

125t

Facsimile: below p. 279

§ 48

K 182

Inscription cut on the face of the square basement of a pillar-base from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Mathurā Museum.

The record was edited by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 177 (P 25).

TEXT

aya[m kum]bh[ako dā]naṃ saṅghaprakṛtān[ā]ṃ Bh[ad]raghoṣapramukhā(nāṃ)

TRANSLATION

This pillar-base is the gift of the commissioners of the Community headed by Bhadrakhoṣa.

Compare §47: L.125s and §49: L.125u.

125u

Facsimile: below p. 280

§ 49

K 183

Inscription on a pillar-base from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Mathurā Museum. It is cut on the face of the square basement the right corner of which with the concluding portion of the inscription is lost.

The record was edited by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 177 (P 26).

TEXT

ayaṃ [kumbha]k[o]¹ dānaṃ saṃghaprakṛt[ā]nāṃ Bhadrakho[ṣa]-
(pramukhānāṃ)

¹ The o-sign is doubtful.

TRANSLATION

This pillar-base is the gift of the commissioners of the Community (headed by) Bhadrageṣa.

Compare §47: L. 125s and §48: L. 125t.

125w

Facsimile: below p. 281

§ 50

K 185

Inscription on a pillar-base from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Mathurā Museum.

The record, which is cut on the face of the square basement, was edited by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 179 (P 37).

TEXT

- 1 [siddham —]¹ dā[naṃ] s[aṅghaparakṛtā]naṃ² Bhaddilapramu-
khānaṃ³ sarv[a]sa[tvānaṃ hita]-
2 [sukhāye]⁴///

TRANSLATION

Success! The gift of the commissioners of the Community headed by Bhaddila for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings

Perhaps Bhaddila is only a shortened Prakrit form of Bhadrageṣa mentioned in §47: L. 125s — §49: L. 125u. Compare §51: L. 131.

131 (= 125v)

Facsimile: below p. 281

§ 51

K 184

Inscription on a pillar-base from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Mathurā Museum. It is cut on the top of the torus.

As proved by the facsimile, the impression is identical with the inscription published by Rajendralala Mitra, JASB 39, 1. 1870, p. 128 No 8 + pl. 5, although he read it *dānaṃ saghe putra* ... It may also be the same as the inscription of which Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 186

¹ I think that traces of the word can be discerned, but the reading is by no means certain.

² Vogel read here and in the next two words the last *akṣara* as *nāṃ*, but *naṃ* is more likely.

³ [In the rubbing of our collection the centre with *bhaddila* is missing.]

⁴ *sukhāye* is tolerably certain. Perhaps the next two *akṣaras* were *sarva*, but the rest of the line is illegible.

No 15 published the first words as *dānam Sangha* ... Lüders tried to correct Raj. Mitra's reading Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 155 No 39, but his restoration of the text is wrong.

The inscription was edited by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 177 (P 24).

TEXT

...¹ d[a]na² saṃghaprakṛit[ā]naṃ³ Bh[a]d[i]lapramukhana

TRANSLATION

... the gift of the commissioners of the Community headed by Bhadila.

Compare § 50: L. 125w.

125m

Facsimile: below p. 281

§ 52

K 175

Inscription cut on the face of the basement of a pillar-base from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Mathurā Museum.

The record was edited by Cunningham, ASI [Ann.] Rep. 17. 1884, p. 108 No 2, and by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 177 (P 27).

TEXT

siddham —⁴ da[nam]⁵ bhikṣuṇo⁶ Bhadrasya Bhadragh(o)ṣasya⁷ ca —

¹ At the beginning there are traces of one or two *akṣaras* not noticed by Vogel. The reading *siddham* is unlikely.

² The top-stroke of the *da* shows an elongation to the left, but the reading *dena* is hardly intended.

³ The *ṛ*-vowel is written here by attaching the signs for *-ṛ* and *-i* to the *ka*. The *ā*-stroke of *tā* is not quite certain. In *saṃ* the *anusvāra* is placed above the line to the right of the *sa*, whereas *naṃ* seems to have been expressed here by putting a small stroke to the right of the *na* in the middle of the line; cf. the *naṃ* of § 58: L. 125o.

⁴ The *d-* is indicated by a slight curve of the upper vertical. [The *m* is written at the right side of the *ddha* not separated from this ligature on the upper part of which by the side of the *d-* there is a horizontal stroke to the right; cf. § 55: L. 125k.]

⁵ The reading *danam* is only tentative. The second *akṣara* looks like an archaic *nā* with the vertical line slightly curved. If no value is attached to the jutting to the left of the upper and lower verticals, one might even read *ja* as Vogel does. But neither *danā* nor *daja*, if taken as an independent word or in combination with *bhikṣuṇo*, yields a plausible meaning. So I would explain the character as a *na* with the same uncommonly long top-stroke that appears in *kṣu*, *no* and *ca*, and the stroke denoting the *anusvāra* attached to the middle of the vertical. For a similar mode of writing *naṃ* see § 53: L. 125n.

⁶ The last *akṣara* of this word differs so much from the last letter of the word just mentioned that here apparently *no* is intended.

⁷ [Probably the third letter was originally written as *ṣa*, but than corrected to *gha*. There is no *o*-sign at the top of the *akṣara*.] The engraver seems to have forgotten to incise the middle line of the *mātrkā sa*.

TRANSLATION

Success! The gift of the monk Bhadra and of Bhadrakhoṣa.

Compare §53: L. 125n. Bhadrakhoṣa is a layman; see §47: L. 125s — §49: L. 125u.

125n

Facsimile: below p. 282

§ 53

K 176

Inscription on a pillar-base from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Mathurā Museum.

The record, cut on the face of the square basement, was edited by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 178 (P 28).

TEXT

dā[naṃ]¹ bhikṣo[h]² Bhadras[y]a Bhadrakhoṣas[y]a [ca]

TRANSLATION

The gift of the monk Bhadra and of Bhadrakhoṣa.

Compare §52: L. 125m.

125r

Facsimile: below p. 282

§ 54

K 180

Inscription on a pillar-base, cut on the face of the square basement. It was found in the Jamālpur mound and is now in the Mathurā Museum.

The record was edited by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 178 (P 32).

¹ Vogel reads [*siddham*] at the beginning of the inscription before the *dā[naṃ]*. I can find no traces of it in the impression, and Mr. Agrawala states that it is not on the stone. — The *naṃ* shows here a form that is even more curious than in the preceding inscription. I think it quite possible that the engraver wanted to incise the form used in § 52: L. 125m, but neglected to cut the right end of the top-stroke.

² The *kṣa* has a distinct o-sign at the top, whereas the *u*-stroke is less distinct. The *visarga* is not very clear and close to the *kṣo*, and in the void space between *bhikṣo[h]* and the next word there are traces of a letter which may have been *no*. Probably the original reading *bhikṣuno* was corrected to *bhikṣoḥ*.

TEXT

..¹ ayam² kubhak[o] dāna bhik[ṣu]sya Saṅghavarm[m]a[sya]³ Vṛddha-sya⁴ ca

TRANSLATION

The pillar-base is the gift of the monk Saṅghavarmma (*Saṅghavarman*) and of Vṛddha.

125k

Facsimile: below p. 282

§ 55

K 173

Inscription on a pillar-base. The place where it is found is not stated, but there can be no doubt that it came from the Jamālpur mound. It is now in the Mathurā Museum.

The record, which is cut on the face of the square basement, was first read by Cunningham, ASI [Ann.] Rep. 17. 1884, p. 108 No 1, and edited again by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 178 (P 31).

TEXT

1 dānaṃ bhikṣo[h] Saṅghadevasyā⁵ Vākudātev[ā]sikasy[ā]⁶
2 siddham — ⁷

¹ Before *ayam* there is a distinct sign which was read as *ja* by Vogel. It resembles the strange sign in § 52: L. 125m which I have tried to interpret as *nam*. A similar sign apparently representing *nam* is found in § 53: L. 125n. In both cases the signs are used to denote the last syllable of *dānaṃ*, but here the reading *dānaṃ* cannot be thought of, as there is no letter visible at the beginning of the line and besides this *dānaṃ* occurs afterwards in the inscription. I am unable at present to account for the existence of the sign. [Badly shaped abbreviation for:] *siddham*? [= Later remark by the author written on the margin of his manuscript.]

² The *anusvāra* consists of a long curved line touching the top-stroke of the *ya*.

³ The subscript *-ma* has no bottom-line and the *sya* is a mere scrawl.

⁴ The *r*-sign is indicated by a line curved to the right. [The *ddha* is written similarly as in *siddham* of § 52: L. 125m, but here the *-dha* is not closed in its upper part.] The sign for *sya* is just as bad as in the preceding word.

⁵ Vogel read *Saṅghadevasya*, but the *ā*-stroke is quite distinct.

⁶ Vogel read *Vākudātev[ā]sikasya*, but the elongation of the top-stroke to the right on the *va* and the *ḍa* points to length of the vowels. In *sy[ā]* the length of the vowel seems to be expressed by an upward stroke as in *Saṅghadevasyā*.

⁷ The word written in smaller characters has not been noticed by Cunningham and Vogel. [There are two strokes to the right of the *ddha*, by the side of the superscript *da* it is a horizontal, and below by the side of the subscript *-dha*, a vertical one. It is quite possible that the lower is meant for *m*; cf. § 52: L. 125m.]

TRANSLATION

Success! The gift of the monk Saṅghadeva, the pupil of Vākuḍa.

The name of the teacher occurs as Vakkali in Pali¹. In Buddhist Sanskrit we find Bakkula², Vakkula³, and Vatkula⁴.

135

Facsimile: below p. 282

§ 56

K 194

Fragmentary inscription on the square base of a pillar from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (M 2c).

The record was edited by Rajendralala Mitra, JASB 39, 1. 1870, p. 128 No 4 + pl. 5, by Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 186 No 11, by R. D. Bandyopādhyāya [= R. D. Banerji⁵], JPBAS 5. 1909, p. 241 No 6 + pl. 11.

TEXT

dānaṃ bhikṣusya⁶ Budhaghosa⁷ Phala[pha]⁸///

TRANSLATION

The gift of the monk Budhaghosa (*Buddhaghosa*), the Phalapha⁹... (?).

The meaning of the last mutilated word is uncertain. It may be an epithet of the monk Budhaghosa, or the name of another person who associated with him in the donation.

¹ E. g. Saṃyuttanikāya 3, p. 124.

² E. g. Saddharmapundarika p. 2; p. 207.

³ E. g. Mahāvvyutpatti 47, 37; Lalitavistara, p. 2, 2.

⁴ E. g. Divyāvadāna, p. 396.

⁵ [Cf. below Bibliography, p. 241, n. 1.]

⁶ The first letter is distinctly *bhī*, not *bhī*, as read by Bandyopādhyāya.

⁷ Both, Raj. Mitra and Dowson, read the name *Buddhaghosasya*, which of course is a mistake, but I do not believe that Bandyopādhyāya was right in reading *Baudhaghosasya*. He thought [JPBAS 5, p. 240] that *-au* was expressed here by "a straight downward stroke below and two curved strokes to the right" (recte: two straight strokes slanting to the left) on the top of the letter. In support of his view he referred to the form of *gau* in *Gauridāsasya* in some of the Basārḥ seals [discovered by Th. Bloch], cf. ASI Ann. Rep. 1903/04. 1906, p. 114 (No 74b) + pl. 41 No 28. But there the right-hand part of *-au* consists of a curve or hook attached to the bottom of the letter, and this is clearly the same curve which, as was pointed out by Bloch [Ann. Rep. 1903/04, p. 102], occasionally is used to express the long *-ā* in the Eastern Gupta script. [Cf. below p. 161, n. 3.] It bears not the slightest resemblance to the long stroke attached to the *mātrkā ba* in the present inscription, and there can be no doubt that the true reading of the *akṣara* in question is *bu* and that the two strokes to the left are nothing but flaws in the stone.

⁸ The last *akṣara* is doubtful. It may be *ha*.

⁹ [Cf. § 57: L. 125x.]

125x

Facsimile: below p. 283

§ 57

K 186

Inscription on a pillar-base from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Mathurā Museum. The record, cut on the face of the square basement, is now almost entirely obliterated.

It was noticed, but not read by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 179 (P 36).

TEXT

//laphalasya [bh]i//

Perhaps the name was the same as in § 56: L. 135 where the beginning is preserved as Phala[pha]

125o

Facsimile: below p. 283

§ 58

K 177

Inscription cut on the face of the square basement of a pillar-base from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Mathurā Museum.

It was edited by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 179 (P 33).

TEXT

[dā]nam¹ bhikṣ(u)s[y]a Buddhamītras(y)a²

TRANSLATION

The gift of the monk Buddhamitra (*Buddhamitra*) ...

129 (= 130?)

Facsimile: below p. 283

§ 59

K 191

Inscription on a pillar-base from the Jamālpur mound, preserved in the Public Library at Allahabad until 1907 and now in the Mathurā Museum. The concluding portion of the inscription, which is cut on the face of the square basement, is missing.

¹ The stroke denoting the *anusvāra* stands after the *na* in the middle of the line; cf. the *nam* of § 51: L. 131, note 3.

² The peeling off of the surface of the stone has caused the disappearance of the *u*-sign of *kṣu* and the two subscript *-ya* and the rest of the inscription of which only the upper portion of one *akṣara* is still discernible.

It was edited by Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 187 No 21, by Lüders, Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 155 No 37, by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 178 (P 29). Perhaps the record is identical with the inscription List No 130, published by Rajendralala Mitra, JASB 39, 1. 1870, p. 128 No 9 + pl. 5, and by Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 186 No 16.

Raj. Mitra read the beginning as *danam saṅghappravirasya* ..., his facsimile shows *danam saṅghappravirasya pu...*, which agrees with Dowson's reading (No 16:) *dānam Saṅgha-pravirasya pu...* As remarked by Lüders, Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 155 No 38, *saṅghappravirasya* was evidently misread for *saṅghasthavirasya*. Considering the arbitrary way in which Raj. Mitra's and Dowson's facsimiles are often altered, I think it not impossible that their readings are based on a disfigured facsimile, although, of course, there may have been a second inscription beginning with *dānam saṅghasthavirasya* which now would be lost.

TEXT

dānam saṅghasthavirasyā bhadam[t]a¹...///

TRANSLATION

Gift of the elder of the Community, the venerable ...

127

Facsimiles: below p. 284

§ 60

K 189

Two inscriptions, one on a square base and the other around the torus of a pillar from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (M 2a).

The inscription on the square base (A) was edited by Rajendralala Mitra, JASB 39, 1. 1870, p. 128 No 6 + pl. 5, and by Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 186 No 13. Lüders tried to correct the reading from the published facsimile, Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 154f. No 36. The record was re-edited by R. D. Bandyopādhyāya [= R. D. Banerji²], JPBAS 5. 1909, p. 242 No 8 + pl. 11. It was treated again by Lüders, SPAW 1913, p. 422f. = Phil. Ind., p. 250f., who subsequently published the record, beginning with the word *imena*, Acta Orientalia 18. 1940, p. 24].

The inscription around the torus (B) has not been noticed before and is edited here for the first time.

¹ [The *aksara* following *dam* seems to be the ligature *nta*. Therefore the word may be transliterated as *bhadam[nt]a*.] It was followed immediately by the name of the monk.

² [Cf. below Bibliography, p. 241, n. 1.]

TEXT

- A 1 [dānam] viśv[a]sik[a]sya¹ V[akamih]ir[as]y[a]² s[ahā p]u-
tre[na] Horamurṇḍa[g]e[na]³ im[e]⁴-
2 [na] devadharm[m]apa[r]it[y]āgena⁵ [a]cala[m=ai]ś[var]y-
[y]am⁶ bhav[a]t[u]
B d[a]nam⁷ Vakamihiraputrasya Horamu[r]d[d]apharasya⁸

TRANSLATION

A The gift of the *viśvasika* Vakamihira (*Vakamihira*) together with (his) son Horamurṇḍaga. By this donation of a pious gift⁹ let the sovereignty be unshaken!

B The gift of Horamurddaphara, the son of Vakamihira.

See the remarks below (§ 62: L. 128).

141

Facsimiles: below p. 285

§ 61

K 204

Two inscriptions, one on the square base and the other around the torus of a pillar from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (M 2h).

The inscription on the square base (A) was edited by Rajendralala Mitra, JASB 39, 1. 1870, p. 130 No 20 + pl. 7. Lüders tried to correct the reading from the published facsimile Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 155 note 100. The record was re-edited by R. D. Bandyopādhyāya [= R. D. Banerji¹⁰], JPBAS 5. 1909, p. 242f. No 9 + pl. 11, and treated again by Lüders, SPAW 1913, p. 422f. = Phil. Ind., p. 250f., who subsequently edited the second line of A, Acta Orientalia 18. 1940, p. 24].

The inscription around the torus (B) has not been noticed before and is edited here for the first time.

¹ [At the right side of the ś- there is a distinct stroke to the right. Therefore the second *akṣara* may be meant as śvā.]

² The sign of the long -ī is distinct in [h]ī, but doubtful in [m]ī.

³ The fourth *akṣara* is distinctly ṛṇḍa. The fifth letter was read *te* by Bandyopādhyāya, which would not be impossible, the *akṣara* being neither a clear *te* nor a clear *ge*. I prefer to read *ge* for linguistic reasons and because in § 61: L. 141 the sign appears to be *ge*. The last *akṣara* is undoubtedly meant to be *na*, though it looks more like *ta*.

⁴ Bandyopādhyāya read only *ma*, but the initial *i* is quite distinct.

⁵ The ā-sign of *t[y]ā* is distinct.

⁶ The reading is certain. Bandyopādhyāya: *bha(a)cala Sukhaye*.

⁷ The *da* has no ā-sign. [The *akṣara* looks almost like *de*.]

⁸ The *r*-sign is not distinct. It can be read only by assuming that the slanting line on the top of the *da* is meant for the *r*-stroke. It is probable that there was a subscript -*da*.

⁹ [Cf. Lüders, Acta Orientalia.]

¹⁰ [Cf. below Bibliography, p. 241, n. 1.]

TEXT

- A 1 .. [d]ānaṃ¹ v[i]śvaśikasya Vv[a]gamihīrāsya² sahā putreṇa³
 Horamu[rdrvagena]⁴ —
 2 [ime]n[a d]evvadharmapa(r)ī(tyāg)e[na]ṃ acalam=aiśvarya-
 tayam bh[a]vvatu⁵
 B danam⁶ Vakamihiraputrasya Horamurddapharasya⁷

TRANSLATION

A The gift of the *viśvasika* Vvagamihira (*Vagamihira*) together with (his) son Horamurdvaga⁴. By this donation of a pious gift³ let the sovereignty be unshaken!

B The gift of Horamurddaphara, the son of Vakamihira.

See the remarks below (§ 62: L. 128).

128

Facsimiles: below p. 285

§ 62

K 190

Two inscriptions, one on the square base and the other around the torus of a pillar from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (M 2g).

Both inscriptions (A and B) were edited by Rajendralala Mitra, JASB 39, 1. 1870, p. 128 No 5a and b + pl. 5, and by Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 186 No 12. Lüders tried to correct the reading from the published facsimile in connection with the just mentioned editions, Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 154f. No 34 and 35. A new edition of both inscriptions was pub-

¹ There was probably an *akṣara* before [d]ānaṃ.

² The reading is certain. Bandyopādhyāya: *Vata(ka)mihirasya*.

³ The last *akṣara* is probably *ṇa*, not *na* as read by Bandyopādhyāya.

⁴ The fourth letter, read *dkha* by Bandyopādhyāya, is doubtful. [In the transcript of the record Lüders corrected his former reading [r]ḍva later on into [rdva] but did not convert the -ḍ- into -d- in the translation also, which has been done now.] The *r*-stroke on the top of the *akṣara* is uncertain, and the subscript *-va* has a tail to the left which makes it look almost like *kha*. However, from the reverse of the estampage it becomes probable that it is only a flaw in the stone. The next letter is probably *ge*, not *te*, as read by Bandyopādhyāya. The last *akṣara* is very badly shaped so that at the first sight it seems to be no letter at all. But as the ending of the name originally must have been *-ena*, there can be little doubt that the *akṣara* in question was meant as *na*.

⁵ The reading of the second line may be called certain. The *anusvāras* above *na* and *ya* are quite distinct. Instead of *bha* the reading *bhā* would be possible, but the seeming *ā*-stroke may be accidental. Bandyopādhyāya's reading is so much out-of-the-way that it needs not to be quoted here.

⁶ There seems to be no *ā*-sign on the *da*.

⁷ The vertical stroke at the bottom of *ho* appears to be accidental.

⁸ [Cf. Lüders, Acta Orientalia.]

lished by R. D. Bandyopādhyāya [= R. D. Banerji¹], JPBAS 5. 1909, p. 243f. No 10a and b + pl. 11. The inscription A was treated again by Lüders, SPAW 1913, p. 422f. = Phil. Ind., p. 250f., who subsequently edited the second line of A, Acta Orientalia 18. 1940, p. 24].

TEXT

- A 1 (ku) d[ā]nam² v[ai]śvasikasya³ V[a]kamihirasya⁴ saha⁵
 putrena H[o]ra[mūnaḍh]va[re]na⁶
 2 imena dev[ā]ddharmaparityā[k]ena⁷ ac[a]lam=[i]ś[u]r[y]a-
 ta[ya]⁸ bhav[a]t[u]
 B d[a]nam⁹ Vakamihiraputrasya H[ar]amarddaphara[s]y[a]¹⁰ ..

TRANSLATION

A The gift of the *viśvasika* Vakamihira together with (his) son Horamūna-
 ḍhvara(?). By this donation of a pious gift¹¹ let the sovereignty be unshaken!

B The gift of Haramarddaphara (*Horamurddaphara*), the son of
 Vakamihira.

¹ [Cf. below Bibliography, p. 241, n. 1.]

² Here again *dānam* is preceded by a sign two horizontal strokes of which are pretty distinct. It is perhaps not quite impossible that it was *ku*, the abbreviation of *kumbhako*.

³ Bandyopādhyāya: *viśvasikasya*, but here the vowel-sign of the first letter seems to be *-ai*.

⁴ [The first letter has a top-stroke to the left. From the purely graphical point of view it may be read as *ve*.]

⁵ Bandyopādhyāya: *sahā*, but there is no *ā*-stroke attached to the *ha*.

⁶ Bandyopādhyāya: *Horamudalcharena*. The reading of the name is extremely difficult. The *o*-sign of *h[o]* is blurred, but certain, and the *ū*-sign of *[mū]* is probable. The fourth *akṣara* can be read only as *na*, and there is no *r*-stroke visible on the top of the letter. The next *akṣara* is a ligature, the lower part of which is clearly *-va*. The upper letter may possibly be *ḍha* [or *pha*, cf. Bühler, Indische Palaeographie, Tafel III 19, 3—4 and 27, 1; 5]. No less doubtful is the sixth *akṣara*. It may be read as *ra* instead of *re*; there is no hook at the bottom of the vertical and the *e*-sign is indistinct.

⁷ The stroke which gives the *va* the appearance of *vā* may be an accidental flaw. The *r*- of *rma* is expressed by two *r*-signs placed one above the other [*de-v[ā]ddharmma-?*]. Bandyopādhyāya read *-parityagena*, but the reading *tyāke* seems to be certain, although the lower portion of the *ka* has partly disappeared owing to the peeling off of the stone. The last *akṣara*, which is no doubt meant for *na*, looks more like *ta*.

⁸ Bandyopādhyāya read doubtfully *acala hita sukhaye* which, of course, is impossible. The writing is here so much blurred that it can be deciphered only with the help of the corresponding passage in § 61: L. 141. Under these circumstances the reading *miśu* instead of the correct *maiśva* cannot be called certain.

⁹ The top-stroke of the *da* is so much lengthened to the left that the *akṣara* looks almost like *de*.

¹⁰ Here the *ha* and the *ma* seem to have no vowel-signs, but apparently only by fault of the engraver. Bandyopādhyāya's reading *Horamudkhapharusya* is imaginary.

¹¹ [Cf. Lüders, Acta Orientalia.]

The inscriptions §60:L.127, §61:L.141, and §62:L.128, as far as they are incised on the square bases, present extraordinary difficulties partly due to the extreme slovenliness of the engraving and partly due to the faultiness of the language increased by singularities in spelling. If instead of *deyadharmaparit̥yāgena* we find *devāddharmaparit̥yākena*, *devvadharmapa(r)ī(tyāg)enam*, *devāddharmaparit̥yākena* [-rrma-?], I am convinced that the substitution of *deva*, *devva* or even *devād* for *deya* has to be accounted for only by the writer's ignorance of the language.¹ In §60:L.127 the sentence concludes correctly *acalam=aiśvāryyam bhavatu*, but in §61:L.141 the words have been replaced by *acalam=aiśvāryatayam bhavatu* and similarly in §62:L.128. Probably the writer wanted to say *acalaiśvāryatāyai bhavatu*.

I suspect that these linguistic imperfections have to do with the fact that the donors were of foreign extraction. The father's name proves him to be of Iranian descent. Vakamihira is naturally to be divided into *vaka* and *mihira*, and *mihira* of course corresponds to Persian *mīhr*. The spelling *mīhira* in §60:L.127 and §61:L.141 is due to a tendency of writing the long vowel, observable also in other inscriptions of this time.² The first constituent *vaka* is spelled *vvaga* in §61:L.141 with that strange doubling of *v* which is found in the same inscription also in *devva*- and *bhavvatu*, and with *ga* instead of *ka* which has its counterpart in the spelling *-parit̥yākena* in §62:L.128. Perhaps *vaga* is the more accurate spelling, and this *vaga* is identical with the first constituent of the personal name *Vagramareg(r)a*, *Vag(r)amareg(r)a*, *Vagramarig(r)a*- in the Wardak Vase inscription (CII 2, 1, p. 170 No 86). That this name is a compound of *vagra* and *mareg(r)a* is proved by the occurrence of the second member not only in the name *Haṣṭhunā Mareg(r)a* in this inscription, but also as a separate personal name in the Kharoṣṭhī documents³ of Caḍ'oda⁴ No 431 and 432.

The appellation of Vakamihira's son is also distinctly Iranian. In each of the three inscriptions on the square bases it is spelt in a different way. Only the reading in §60:L.127 is perfectly clear and reliable, and this form has therefore to be taken as the base of explanation. In the paper I have quoted above (SPAW 1913, p. 420ff. = Phil. Ind., p. 249ff.), I have identified *Horamurṇḍa* with *horamurta* occurring in the Māṇikiālā inscription (CII 2, 1, p. 149 No 76). There the general Lāla is called the *horamurta* of the *kṣatrapa* Veśpaśi, the *horamurta* in the Kṣatrapa's own *vihāra*.⁵ In the Taxila Copper-plate (CII 2, 1, p. 28 No 13) Patika,

¹ [Cf. Lüders, Acta Orientalia 18. 1940, p. 24.]

² Cf. *Hūv[ī]śkasya v[ī]hāre* in §31:L.62, *bhīkṣusya* and *Sanghamūtrasadevīh[ā]rīsa* in §45:L.40, *prāhaṇikānam* and *-parit̥yāgen[a]* in §46:L.126, *Buddhamūtras(y)a* in §58:L.125o, *bhīkṣ[v]sya Buddharakṣītasya* in §40:L.133.

³ ... discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan Pt 2 (1927), p. 156f.

⁴ [Cf. Lüders, op. cit., p. 35f.]

⁵ *Veśpaśisa kṣatrapasa horamurt[o] sa tasa apanage vihare horamurto.*

the son of the *kṣatrapa* Liaka Kusuluka, is called *mahādanapati* (i. e. *mahādānapati*). It thus becomes probable that *horamurta*, which is certainly no Indian word, is an Iranian equivalent of *dānapati*, and this agrees well with the fact that in the Saka language of Khotan *hora* is the ordinary word for 'gift'. Moreover, in the Mathurā Lion Capital inscription (CII 2, 1, p. 48 No 15) the queen Ayasia Kamuia is said to have made some donations together with the harem and the retinue of *horakas* (*horakaparivarena*) where *horaka* seems to be an abbreviated form of *horamurta*.¹ As *hora* is not a common Iranian word, but confined to the Saka language, *horamurta* would have to be considered a Saka term, which is quite in harmony with its occurrence in inscriptions dating from the time of the rule of the Sakas as well as of the Kuṣāns who, whatever their nationality may have been, certainly to a large extent used the Saka language.

As regards the second member of the compound *horamurta*, no such word as *murta* in the sense of *pati* has turned up hitherto in the Saka language itself. However, in Sanskrit we find a word, evidently taken from the Saka language, similar in sound which has the meaning of 'lord', i. e. *murunḍa*. *Murunḍa* occurs several times as the name of a dynasty or of a tribe in Indian literature and also in Greek and Latin works, but a passage in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta (CII 3, p. 1 No 1, line 23), where *Sakamurunḍa* appears in a compound with *daivaputraśāhiśāhānuśāhi*, leaves no doubt that *murunḍa* originally was a title used by Saka princes. Konow (SPAW 1916, p. 791), is of the opinion that *Sai-wang*, which in the Han Annals is the typical term for the Sakas,² is the Chinese rendering of *Sakamurunḍa*. Moreover, Lévi³ has shown that *mao-lun*, which in a Chinese encyclopedia is mentioned as a title of an Indian king of the third century A. D., is a transliteration of *murunḍa*, and Konow has identified *murunḍa* with *muroḍa*, the title given to Kaniṣka in the Zeda inscription (CII 2, 1, p. 145 No 75; cf. p. 142f.). On the other hand, in the Brāhmī inscriptions the usual title both of Śoḍāsa and of the Saka rulers of Western India is *svāmin*, and we can hardly help looking on this term as the Sanskrit equivalent of *murunḍa*, which in that case would have the meaning of 'lord'.

The conclusion we have arrived at so far would seem to be confirmed by the occurrence of *Horamurunḍaga* in §60: L. 127, *murṇḍa* and *murunḍa* being obviously identical. The variant found in §61: L. 141, *Horamurdvaga*, provided it is read correctly, I cannot satisfactorily explain at present and I can only draw attention to some facts which may be apt to elucidate them in future. The strange insertion of *va* has a parallel

¹ [Cf. Lüders, JRAS 1909, p. 650f.]

² Franke: Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens (Abh. d. Kgl. Pr. Akad. d. Wiss. 1904, Phil. u. hist. Abh. 1), p. 54.

³ Mélanges Charles de Harlez, 1896, p. 176ff.

in such spellings as *svarva-* for *sarva-*, *arahatvanam* for *arahatānām*, *svavaccharasvate* for *samvatsarasate*, *svāvikā* for *sāvikā* (*śrāvikā*) in the Mathurā inscription List No 78, and perhaps it is not by mere chance that this inscription also originates from persons some of whom were certainly foreigners. It is quite possible also that the second sound rendered in the Brāhmī script by *ṇḍa* had a peculiar timbre in the Saka language. At any rate, it is noteworthy that, as pointed out by Hoernle (JRAS 1911, p. 460)¹, all the syllabaries of the Saka alphabet invariably write *ṇḍa* in the place of the simple *ḍa* which would seem to show that *ṇḍa* denoted a somewhat modified *ḍa*. Under these circumstances it would not be surprising if *dva* also was used to render this sound, as it appears to have happened in *Horamurdvaga* in §61: L. 141, and if instead of *rṇḍa* also the simpler spelling *rḍa* or *rḍda* was chosen as in *Horamurddapharasya*, *H(o*)ram(u*)rddapharasya* of the torus inscriptions (B of §60: L. 127, §61: L. 141, §62: L. 128) or even *rta* as in *horamurta* of the Mānikiala inscription (CII 2, 1, p. 149 No 76). The spelling *Horamūṇḍhvara* in §62: L. 128 (A) may be left out of consideration, the reading being very uncertain.

Unfortunately the difficulties are not at an end here. That the base inscriptions (A) and the torus inscriptions (B) were incised by different persons is proved already by the diversity of the script. But there are inconsistencies also in their statements. Whereas according to the base inscriptions (A) Vakamihira was the principal donor and his son only his associate, the torus inscriptions (B) ascribe the donation to the son alone. Evidently one of the two sets of inscriptions was engraved after some change in the apportionment of the shares of the gift had taken place.

Of more importance is the difference in the designation of the son. I was formerly inclined to take *horamurṇḍaga* as a title.² Impressions of the torus inscriptions were not accessible to me at that time, but now it is perfectly clear from them that the name of the son was *Horamurda-phara*, *phara* being the word which is frequently found at the end of Iranian names, as e. g. in *Guduvhara* in the so-called Takht-i-Bāhī inscription (CII 2, 1, p. 62 No 20, 1) and which corresponds to Avestan *hvarəna*. But in that case *Horamurṇḍaga* cannot be anything but an abbreviated form of *Horamurṇḍaphara*,³ which may be reflected also in the doubtful *Horamūṇḍhvara* in §62: L. 128. Now it cannot be denied that a personal name meaning 'having the splendour of a lord of gifts'⁴ sounds a little unusual, and so the question arises whether

¹ [Cf. below p. 100, n. 1.]

² [SPAW 1913, p. 421ff. = Phil. Ind., p. 250ff.]

³ [In a paper, published in 1940 (Acta Orientalia 18, p. 24), Lüders, referring to the inscriptions § 60: L. 127, § 61: L. 141, § 62: L. 128, called Vakamihira's son Horamurṇḍapharna or Horamurṇḍaga.]

⁴ [Compare: Lüders, Phil. Ind., p. 787 note on p. 252.]

TRANSLATION

By the treasurer of *svāmin mahākṣatrapa* Śomḍāsa, a Brahman of the Śegrava (*Śaigrava*) *gotra*, a tank, the western tank of these twin tanks, a reservoir, a grove, a pillar, and this (?) stone-slab (were caused to be made).

The reconstruction of the sentence requires some additional words, such as *kāritā*; and as the personal name of the Brahman also is missing, the lost portion of the inscription may be larger than assumed above.

The spelling of the name of the *mahākṣatrapa*, which I take to be Śomḍasa, is peculiar. In the record List No 59 the correct reading is undoubtedly Śoḍāsasa, in §115:L.82a we read Śoḍā[sā](sya). On the Mathurā Lion Capital (CII 2, 1, p. 48 No 15) we have Śuḍase and Śuḍise, and as regards coin legends, Rapson has stated (JRAS 1903, p. 289, note 3) that, whenever the name is legible, the first *akṣara* seems to be *śo*. However, I think that on that account the reading *Śomḍāsasya* in the present inscription need not be given up. The *mahākṣatrapa* certainly bears a Saka name, and in the Saka language the *ḍa* appears to have had a nasal timbre, as in all syllabaries of the Saka alphabet invariably *ṇḍa* takes the place of the simple *ḍa*¹. It is therefore quite possible that the inherent nasal twang of the *ḍa* was here expressed by the *anusvāra*.

The correct Sanskrit name of the *gotra* would be Śaigrava. According to the Gaṇapāṭha the Śaigrava *gotra* is referred to by Pāṇini in 2, 4, 67 and 4, 1, 104, and H. Kern has identified Śaigrava with Pali *Siggava*, the name of the patriarch who conferred the *upasampadā* ordination on the great Tissa Moggaliputta.²

The designation *gañjavara*, Persian *ganjwar*, occurs in the form of *gaṃṇavara* in No 310 of the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan (Oxford 1920, p. 113), and later in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī 5, 177 and Kṣemendra's Lokaparakāśa.³

140

Facsimile: below p. 287f.

§ 65

G 5

Fragmentary inscription on the rim of a large rectangular slab one corner of which is broken off, doubtlessly from the Jamālpur mound (cf. above p. 58) and now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum (E 4).

¹ [Cf. above p. 97.] Hoernle, JRAS 1911, p. 460. Ibid., p. 464 Hoernle quotes from Saka texts *vaiṇḍarya* = *vaidūrya*, *garuṇḍa-grahā* = *garuḍa-graha*, *vai-ntāṇḍi-ṇḍākanī* = *vetāḍi-ḍākanī*. [Cf. also Lüders, SPAW 1913, p. 422, 5 = Phil. Ind., p. 251, 5.] For a different explanation of *ṇḍa* see Konow, SPAW 1912, p. 1130.

² Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indië, vol. 2 (1884), p. 266, note = Der Buddhismus . . . , übers. von Jacobi Band 2 (1884), p. 331, note.

³ [Cf. Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī, transl. by M. A. Stein, vol. 1 (1900), p. 210, 177.]

In the Hoernle collection there is an impression which shows that at the time when it was taken, the inscription was more complete than it is at present.

As stated above (cf. p. 58), Cunningham refers to the inscription ASI [Ann.] Rep. 1. 1871, p. 238f. Dowson mentions it JRAS 5. 1870, p. 188 No 28, but he is unable to decipher more than a few words.

The inscription was edited for the first time, but without a translation by R. D. Banerji, Ep. Ind. 10. 1909/10, p. 118f. No 13 + pl. 2, and again by Lüders, JRAS 1912, p. 154ff.

TEXT

- A ///.opavane¹ Śrīkuṇḍe s[va]ke² vihāre Kakaṭikānaṃ pacanaḥ
niyataka —³ nānātra vāstusmi⁴ saṃkkālayitavyaḥ saṃ-
ṅghapr[a]kitehi vyavahārihi upaṭhapito yeṣaṃ n[ima.i]⁵
B Sthāvarajāta — B[u]d(dh)arakṣit[a]⁶ — Jivaśiri — Buddha-
dāsa — Saṃṅghar[a]kṣ[i]t[a —]⁷
C — Dh[ā]rmmavar[m]ma — [B]u[d]dha[d]eva⁸ — Sukhil[a⁹—]///

¹ It is impossible to say how many letters are missing at the beginning of the inscription. The letter before *pa* is now completely lost, but in the older impression the right half of the *o*-sign is visible.

² The *ke* touches the preceding and the following letter, *svake vihāre* seems to have been corrected from an original *svavihāre* or perhaps *sve vihāre*.

³ I formerly read *niyatakaḥ*, but what I took to be the *visarga* is more probably the sign of punctuation and a fissure in the stone.

⁴ The reading *vastusmi* must be given up. The *ā*-sign of *vā* is distinct, and from the older impression it is almost certain that the last *akṣara* was *smi*, not *ssi*.

⁵ The right half of *tha* and the following letters have now disappeared, but are quite distinct in the older impression with exception of the last two *akṣaras*. The first letter of the last word looks like *ni*, but it is just possible that the upper portion of the vowel-sign is merely a fissure in the stone and that the letter was *nā*. The last but one *akṣara* is blurred and very doubtful. It may have been *pa*, or *ha*, or possibly *ma*, as the original reading was perhaps *yeṣaṃ nāmāni*. The older impression shows at the beginning of line B a curved line which I was formerly inclined to take as the rest of *ya*, but which is more likely an *i*-sign belonging to the writing in line A.

⁶ Six letters, from *sthā* to *b[u]*, are now missing. In the older impression the reading of the first four *akṣaras* is certain. Instead of *ta* I formerly read *tra* as the last *akṣara* of the first word, but now I consider it more likely that the apparent subscript *-ra* is merely due to a corrosion of the stone which has caused also the partial loss of the *u*-sign of *b[u]* and the complete loss of the subscript *-dha* of *Buddharakṣita*.

⁷ [In the impression the *i*-sign of *kṣ[i]* is faintly visible. At the top of the third and fifth *akṣaras*, read by Lüders as *ra* and *ta*, there are long strokes slanting to the right which the author apparently took as being accidental.]

⁸ [In the older impression the *va* is distinctly visible.]

⁹ I formerly read *akhila*, but the first *akṣara* is more probably *su* as was assumed already by Banerji.

TRANSLATION

The cooking stone of the Kakatikas, which is permanently fixed in their *vihāra* in the ... park at Śrīkuṇḍa (*Śrīkuṇḍa*) (and) which is not to be transferred to another dwelling place, has been put up by the commissioners of the Community, the merchants, whose [names are] (?) Sthāvarajāta, Buddharaṣita, Jivaśiri (*Jivaśrī*), Buddhadāsa, Saṃgharaṣita (*Saṃgharaṣita*), Dhārmavarmma (*Dharmavarman*), Buddha-deva, Sukhila

Kakatika seems to be the name of a local Buddhist school. As regards the term *saṃghaparakitehi*, see the remarks on p. 84.

125d

Facsimile: below p. 289

§ 66

K 166

Inscription on the base of a fragmentary image found in clearing a well at the village of Jamālpur.¹ It is at present preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The fragment consists of the lower portion of a corpulent person seated in front, with another corpulent male figure of smaller size squatting between its feet. Vogel is apparently inclined to take the large figure as representing a male person, but judging from the photograph, it wears anklets, which would point to its being some female goblin.

The inscription was edited by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 120 (G 10).

TEXT

[Ś]r(i)gatapara² Buddhadaśav[īy](a)³

Vogel took the two words to be the names of the donors, but they have not the appearance of being ordinary personal names, and for that reason it is also unlikely that they are the names of the sculptors. The inscription probably refers to the sculpture and will have to be interpreted in connection with it. At present, however, I cannot suggest any explanation that would satisfy myself.

¹ [Cf. above p. 60.]

² Vogel reads the first *akṣara* as [*su*], but the supposed *u*-stroke has a distinct hook to the left and can therefore only be meant for a subscript *-ra*. The upper portion of the *akṣara* is much defaced. From the traces that are visible the reading *śrī* is probable [but the *ī*-sign is uncertain].

³ Vogel reads *Buddhadaśava*. I think that an *ī*-sign was attached to the *va* [but it may be also only the sign for *-ī*]. After the last but one *akṣara* the left half of the *ya* is still preserved.

146

Facsimile: below p. 289

§ 67

G 6

Inscription on the base of the image of a standing Buddha from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Mathurā Museum.

The inscription was edited by Growse, JASB 47, 1. 1878, p. 130 No 1 + pl. 21, and Mathurā² 1880, p. 107, p. 155 + pl. facing p. 106, by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 50 (A 5), with a reproduction of the image on pl. 9. The statue is figured also in G. Le Bon, Les Civilisations de l'Inde 1887°, fig. 94; ASI Ann. Rep. 1922/23, pl. 39b, Vogel, Sculpture de Mathurā 1930, pl. 32, etc.

TEXT

- 1 deyadharmo-yam Śākyabhikṣo Yaśadinnasya yad-atra pu-
nyam tad-bhavatu mā-
2 tāpittro ācāryopādhyāyānām ca sarvvasatvānuttarajñāna-
vāptaye¹ ||

TRANSLATION

This is the religious gift of the Śākya monk Yaśadinna (*Yaśodatta*). Whatever religious merit there is in the (gift), let it be for the attainment of supreme knowledge by (his) parents and (his) teachers and preceptors (and) all sentient beings.

The inscription is written in Gupta characters of the fifth century A. D.

136

Facsimile: below p. 289

§ 68

K 196

Inscription on the dome of a miniature Buddhist Stūpa, presumably from the Jamālpur site,² preserved in the Allahabad Public Library until 1907 and now in the Mathurā Museum. A photograph of the stone was reproduced by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, pl. 4, Sculpture de Mathurā 1930, pl. 5a.

The inscription was edited by Rajendralala Mitra, JASB 39, 1. 1870, p. 129 No 13 + pl. 5, by Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 187 No 20 + pl., by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 166 (N 1).

TEXT

N[u]śāpriyāye³ Śūrānāśya⁴ ditu

¹ Apparently meant for: *sarvvasatvānām-anuttarajñānāvāptaye*.

² [Cf. the later remarks by Lüders above p. 60.]

³ I think Vogel is right in reading the first *akṣara* as *nu*, though the *u*-sign is not very distinct.

⁴ Vogel: *Śūranāśya*, but the *ā*-strokes on the top of the *ra* and the *na* are pretty clear.

TRANSLATION

(The gift) of Nuśāpriyā, the daughter of Śurāna.

Śurāna appears to be an Iranian name.

⟨91j⟩

Facsimile: below p. 289

§ 69

K 97

Inscription on the front (a) and on the reverse side (b) of a railing pillar from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum (B 88).

TEXT

a śirāha¹

b ///vasa///²

I fail to see the meaning of the inscription (a) which seems to be complete.

91b

Facsimile: below p. 289

§ 70

K 113

In his Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 150 (J 41), Vogel describes the fragment of a railing pillar, now in the Mathurā Museum, which was found in clearing a well at the village of Jamālpur.³ It is figured in Vogel's Sculpture de Mathurā 1930, pl. 21d.

On one side the fragment is carved with a prostrate dwarf on whose back a female figure is standing of which only the feet remain. On the obverse is a panel enclosed between pilasters. It shows an owl seated on a stool and two monkeys pouring water on its head. Vogel has shown that the scene probably represents the Ulūkajātaka (cf. BEFEO 9. 1909, p. 530; offprint p. 21f.).

Below the panel is a symbol which Vogel (Cat. Mus. Math.) takes to be the numeral 30. I can detect no resemblance of the sign to that figure. It is distinctly the letter

hā

¹ The reading of the second *akṣara* is doubtful. The *i*-sign too is not quite certain.

² [Concerning this line Lüders later on wrote on the margin of his manuscript: *dana*, i. e. he then took what he formerly understood as *sa* as two *akṣaras*. In this way we would have to read (b) as ///*vaḍana*///.]

³ [Cf. above p. 60.]

and I would suggest that it refers to the sculptor who has marked his work with the first letter of his name, since on other railing pillars, in exactly the same place, we find inscriptions which apparently are the signatures of the artists.¹

⟨91i⟩

Facsimile: below p. 289

§ 71

K 103

On a railing pillar from the Jamālpur mound, now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum (B 92), there is incised the figure

5

6. Mound on the Circular Road

Growse states² that in 1874 he proceeded to explore a very large mound³ situated about a quarter of a mile to the south-west of the Jamālpur mound, but the excavations yielded only a mass of broken bricks of very large size, a massive stone slab and the rounded pedestal of a pillar.

Close to it, about half a mile due west of the Jamālpur mound, on the border of the Circular Road there is a smaller mound⁴ which seems to have been the site of a Buddhist sanctuary. Here were found, only half buried in the soil, the lower portions of two large figures, the one a seated Bodhisattva, the other a female figure with a child in her lap. The pedestal of the Bodhisattva figure bears the inscription § 72: L. 88 noticed below. It is in pre-Kuṣān characters, and if the spot where the figure was found was really its original place, the sanctuary which once stood on the site of this mound must date from pre-Kuṣān times.

88

Facsimile: below p. 290

§ 72

Kṣa 16

Fragmentary inscription on the upper rim of the pedestal of a Bodhisattva image from the mound on the Circular Road, now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum (B 18).

¹ Cf. § 77: L. 125i, § 145: L. 125j, § 146: L. 125f, § 147: L. 125g, § 148: L. 91c, § 149: L. 125h.

² Growse, Mathurā¹ 1874 Pt 1, p. 78; Pt 2, p. 175; Mathurā² 1880, p. 106.

³ Marked "a" in the Map of the Environs of Mathurā: Growse, Mathurā¹ 1874 Pt 1, facing p. 72. [Cf. below p. 254.]

⁴ Marked "b" in the Map.

The date of the inscription was read by Growse, Mathurā¹ 1874 Pt 2, p. 175 (cf. also Pt 1, p. 78), Ind. Ant. 6. 1877, p. 219 No 9 + pl., Mathurā² 1880, p. 106 + pl. facing p. 108, and by Cunningham, ASI [Ann.] Rep. 17. 1884, p. 108. A reading of the whole inscription, as far as it is possible, was published by R. D. Bandyopādhyāya [= R. D. Banerji³], JPBAS 5. 1909, p. 272f. No 2, and again, now under the name of R. D. Banerji, Ep. Ind. 10. 1909/10, p. 109 No 2 + pl. 1. [The pedestal is figured in: van Lohuizen, The 'Seythian' Period 1949, pl. 21, 34.]

TEXT

///² [va]rṣāmāse 2 divase 6 [a]³ [ṇena] B[o]disāto⁴
p[r]atis[th]āpito mi r. ā . [i] .. [h]ā . e [y]e [va v]o⁵ ...///

TRANSLATION

..... in the 2nd month of the rainy season, on the 6th day a
Bodhisattva was set up by ...ṇa

¹ [Cf. below Bibliography, p. 241, n. 1.]

² About 12 *akṣaras* seem to be lost at the beginning.

³ Of this letter only faint traces are preserved and the reading is not certain. There are no signs of the *anusvāra* above the next *akṣaras*, which are almost completely destroyed, and the reading *a[syām pūrvvāyām]* suggested by Banerji is therefore doubtful.

⁴ This is the reading of the word as far as it is preserved, but it is possible that the original reading was *boddhisāto*, the subscript letters *-dha* and *-va* being broken off, just as in the following word the subscript *-ra* of *pra* and the subscript *-tha* of *sthā* have completely disappeared and can be inferred only from the down-strokes of the *mātrkāś pa* and *sā*.

⁵ The words after *p[r]atis[th]āpito* were read *mā[tā pītihi sa]hā* by Banerji. This is mere fancy. I am unable to make out the meaning of the passage, but the reading of the signs which are not enclosed in brackets may be called certain. — There was no second line of writing.

II. INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURĀ CITY

II. INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURĀ CITY

1.

⟨29a⟩

Facsimile: below p. 290

§ 73

K 20

Fragmentary inscription on the pedestal of a statue of a seated Bodhi-sattva of which only the right leg and left foot are preserved. The stone was discovered by Pandit Radha Krishna in the City of Mathurā and is now in the Mathurā Museum (No 1558).

The inscription consists of three lines, two being incised on the upper rim and the third on the lower rim of the pedestal, but as the proper left half of the base is missing, only the first half of the three lines is preserved.

The record was briefly noticed¹ by Sir John Marshall, ASI Ann. Rep. 1918/19, 1. 1921, p. 25, and ASI Ann. Rep. 1919/20. 1922, p. 41, with a reproduction of the stone on pl. 17b. It was edited by D. R. Sahni, JRAS 1924, p. 399f. No 1.

TEXT

- 1 (ma)harājasya Kāṇ[i]kṣasya² savachare 20 hematam[ā]śe³ 4
divaśe⁴///
2 [de]va[la]ye⁵ Bodhisat[v]o⁶ p[r]atith[ā]pito⁷ Goṭi⁸///
3 [mā]tap[i]t[i]na[m] saha tapi [pata]⁹///
4

¹ Cf. also: ASI Ann. Rep. Northern Circle, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, for 1918/19°, which is not accessible to me.

² [In the impressions which are now in our collection the *i*-sign of the second *akṣara* is not discernible. According to these estampages we would have to transliterate the letter as *ṇa* or *ṇ(i)*.]

³ Sahni: *māśa*. The *ā*-sign of *mā* is doubtful, but the *e*-sign of *śe* distinct.

⁴ [As the second *akṣara* may be read as *rva* Lüders later on wrote on the margin of his manuscript:] *dirvaśe*.

⁵ Sahni: *devacaye*. I am not sure if the first *akṣara* is *de*, the first letter of *divaśe* showing a different shape and the *e*-sign being very faint. The *akṣara* looks more like an initial *u*. The third letter seems to be *la* [or *bha*].

⁶ The *dhi* is badly shaped and the subscript *-va* of the fourth *akṣara* is uncertain.

⁷ Sahni: *patihapito*, but part of the subscript *-ra* is preserved, and there seems to be an *ā*-sign to the right of the *tha*.

⁸ Sahni: *Goṭhi*. The second *akṣara* may be *ṭa* or *ṭi*, but not *ṭhi*.

⁹ This line is much less distinct than the first two lines, and the reading is very difficult. Sahni reads the first word as *mātapiti[h]i*. The *i*-signs of *pi* and *ti* are very faint, but possible; the last letter, however, is certainly not *hi*, but *na*. The

TRANSLATION

In the year 20 of *maḥārāja* Kāṇikṣa (!), in the 4th month of winter, on the .. day, the Bodhisattva was set up at the temple (?) by of (his) parents together with

⟨31a⟩

Facsimile: below p. 290

§ 74

K 24

Fragmentary inscription on the lower rim of the pedestal of a headless image of a seated Buddha which was found in the City of Mathurā¹ and acquired by Pandit Radha Krishna in 1918/19 for the Mathurā Museum (No 1557).

The inscription was briefly noticed by Sir John Marshall, ASI Ann. Rep. 1918/19, 1. 1921, p. 25, and ASI Ann. Rep. 1919/20. 1922, p. 41, with a photolithograph of the statue (pl. 17a). It was edited by D. R. Sahni, Ep. Ind. 19. 1927/28, p. 66 No 1 + pl.

TEXT

- 1 —² siddham sa 20 2 gr 2 di 30 asyām pū[r]vv[ā]yaṃ³ Prāvārika-
vihār[e] B[u]ddha[pra]ti[mā] pra[ti]ṣṭāpitam⁴
2 s[y]a dhi⁵

TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 22, in the 2nd (month) of summer, on the 30th day, on this date, the image of Buddha was set up in the Prāvārikavihāra (*viḥāra* of the cloakmakers) by the daughter (?) of

anusvāra above the *na* is uncertain. — After *saha*, which is certain, Sahni reads: *napi*, but the first *akṣara* seems to be *ta*. Perhaps the original reading was: *saha tehi prati(thāpito)*, but the first two letters after *saha* look more like *tapi*, and the subscript *-ra* of the third *akṣara* and the *i*-sign of the fourth are very doubtful.

¹ [Cf. V. S. Agrawala, Buddha and Bodhisattva Images in Mathurā Museum, JUPHS 1948, p. 45 (1557). He states that "the present image was found at Madhubana-Maholi".]

² Sahni transliterates the horizontal stroke by: *om*, but I doubt that this meaning was attached to it.

³ Sahni: *pūrvvāyām*, but there is no *ā*-sign at the top of the *ya*.

⁴ Sahni: *pratiṣṭāpitā*, but the *anusvāra* is quite distinct.

⁵ In this line only the top-lines of some letters are preserved. Sahni reads: ...[*saṃdhi*]..., but the dot over the *sa* is probably accidental, and there seems to have been a subscript *-ya* attached to the *sa*. Perhaps *dhi* is to be restored to *dhi(tā)*, but there seems to be an *anusvāra* above the letter following *dhi*.

<91e>

Facsimile: below p. 291

§ 75

Kṣa 28

Inscription on a slab from Mathurā City, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 2789).

The record, which is engraved in very large characters, was edited by V. S. Agrawala JUPHS 10. 1937, p. 3 No 3.

TEXT

rājanāpitasya Jāḍasa¹

TRANSLATION

Of the king's barber Jāḍa.

I see no reason why *rājanāpita* should be taken in the sense of "the chief of barbers", as suggested by Agrawala. *Jāḍasa* seems to be the genitive of the personal name, although it is a little strange that the ending should here be *-sa*, whereas in the preceding word it is *-sya*. Agrawala thinks that the slab was a sign-board marking some building which belonged to Jāḍa, probably his house or shop.

2. From the Dhūnsārpārā Quarter

89a

Facsimile: below p. 291

§ 76

K 108

Fragmentary inscription of four lines on the upper (l. 1—2) and lower (l. 3—4) rims of the pedestal of a seated Buddha figure of which only the lower portion is preserved with indication of the legs of an attendant. The stone was acquired from the Dhūnsārpārā Quarter in Mathurā City and is now in the Mathurā Museum.

The inscription was edited by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 62 (A 64).

TEXT

1 [māse]² [p]ra[tha] 1 d[i]vas[e] 30
eta[sya]³

¹ Agrawala: *Jārasa*, but the second letter cannot be *ra*.

² The two *akṣaras* are dimly visible.

³ The last letter may have been *syam* or *syām*.

- 2 (pūrvāyām) ye¹ [Phal](gu)[ya]śa[sya]² va-
dh[ūy]e³ Devarakṣi[t].⁴ ..
3 [sa]r[va]sat[v]ahita-⁵
4

TRANSLATION

(In the year ...) in the first - 1st - month of, on the 30th day, on this (date,) ... (the gift) of ..., the daughter-in-law of Phalguyasa (*Phalguyasas*), the ... of Devarakṣita for the welfare (and happiness) of all sentient beings.

The date of the year is illegible. The abbreviation *pratha* is the same as in List No 22. *Devarakṣita* occurs in the inscriptions as the name of several men. Here also the donatrix would seem to be qualified in her relation to some Devarakṣita, probably as his daughter, but it is not impossible that we have to restore *Devarakṣi[t]*., not as *Devarakṣi-[t](asya)*, but as *Devarakṣi[t](āye)*, and that Devarakṣitā was the name of the donatrix.

3. From the Gōpālpur Quarter

125i

Facsimile: below p. 291

§ 77

K 171

Inscription on a railing pillar obtained from a *māth* in the Gōpālpur Quarter in Mathurā City and now in the Mathurā Museum. According to Vogel the pillar is carved on one face with a male figure standing in front under a balcony. He holds a bunch of flowers in his right hand which is raised to the shoulder. The reverse is decorated with two complete and one half lotus-rosette. Above the latter is the inscription.

It was first read by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 156f. (J 68).

TEXT

Rama

¹ The *ye* is certain.

² Vogel read only *pa śa*. Although all letters are more or less damaged with the exception of *śa*, the reading of the name may be called certain. An examination of the reverse of the impression clearly shows that the hook below the *śa* is only an accidental cut.

³ Vogel: *vadhu[ye]*, but the *ū*-sign is highly probable.

⁴ The last sign is very indistinct.

⁵ Supply: *sukhāye* or *sukhārtham* in the next line.

From the position of the inscription it appears that it cannot possibly refer to the person represented on the obverse, and as the name, which undoubtedly in correct spelling would be *Rāma*, is put down without the ending of the genitive, I feel sure that it is not the name of the donor, but of the sculptor who did the carving.

4. From the Dasāvatarī Galī

(149h)*

§ 78

G 7

Fragmentary inscription on a lintel obtained from the Dasāvatarī Galī in Mathurā City, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 2124).

The inscription was first brought to notice and published by Hirananda Sastri, ASI Ann. Rep. 1930—34, 1. 1936, p. 208. It was edited again by V. S. Agrawala, JUPHS 10. 1937, p. 5f. No 10.

TEXT

.... [t]trayasya¹ Mittravarmmaputtra² Nagarakiyasya yad-attra pu-
nyam mātāpi[t]tra sya³ kālānuvarttamānasamvatsare⁴ saptate 70⁵
Bhādravadadivase saptāvinše⁶ 20 7

TRANSLATION

.... of ...[t]traya, the son of Mittravarmman, the Nagarakiya (native from Nagara or Nagaraka). What merit (there is) in this (gift), let it be for (my) parents. In the current seventieth - 70th - year, on the twenty-fourth - 24th - day of Bhādravada (*Bhādrapada*).

The preserved portion of the inscription seems to be only the conclusion of a longer record, but it is impossible to say how much is lost in the beginning. V. S. Agrawala is probably right in identifying the native place of the donor with Nagara (Nagarahāra) near Jalalabad.

¹ The first *akṣara* was not noticed by Agrawala, but the reading given above is not quite certain.

² Here and in the following text Agrawala reads *tra* instead of *ttra*, which is everywhere quite distinct.

³ Agrawala: *māto*, but the second *akṣara* is distinctly *tā*. The last two letters can hardly be anything but *ttrasya*; although the reading intended, of course, is *mātāpittroḥ syāt*.

⁴ Agrawala: *kālēna vartamāna*. The third *akṣara* is clearly *nu*.

⁵ Agrawala: *saptatiṭhe*.

⁶ Agrawala: *saptaviṃśe*.

5. From the Mātā Gali

〈97c〉

Facsimile: below p. 292

§ 79

K 115

This inscription is incised on a stone fragment found in the debris of a house which fell down in 1917 in the Mātā Gali of Mathurā City. It is now in the Mathurā Museum (No 1350).

The fragmentary inscription was edited by D. R. Sahni, Ep. Ind. 19. 1927/28, p. 68f. No 7 + pl.

TEXT

- 1 ///p[i]to¹ Cut[a]kavihāre² vyāstā///
 2 ///[h](ā)sāṅghikan[a]³ dharmāvala[m]⁴///
 3 ///rṣāṇā⁵ ..⁶ k[ṣ]āraṇika ..⁷ ..///

TRANSLATION

..... (there was) set up for the Mahāsāṅghikas⁸, the supporters (?) of the Buddhist religion, residing (?) in the Cūtakavihāra (*Cūtakavihāra*), a *kṣāraṇika*.

The inscription presents sundry difficulties, and I am by no means sure that I have hit upon the right meaning. Only so much is clear that it records the setting up of some object as a gift to the Mahāsāṅghika monks in the *Cūtakavihāra*, which D. R. Sahni has interpreted as *Cūtakavihāra*, i. e. the Mango monastery. Sahni may also be right by explaining

¹ To be restored as (*pratiṣṭhā*)p[i]to or a similar form.

² [At the top of the second *akṣara* there is a stroke slanting to the left which may be accidental, otherwise the letter is to be read as *te*.]

³ [Of the first letter only the right part is preserved; to be restored as (*ma*)[h](ā)-. The last *akṣara* may be read as n[ā].]

⁴ Sahni: *dharmava(ba)la*-, but the ā-sign of *rmā* is quite distinct. The *anusvāra* is not quite certain, but probable.

⁵ Sahni: [*va*]rṣāṇā, but the ā-sign of *rṣā* is unmistakable. It is not quite impossible that there is an *anusvāra* above the *ṇā*, although on the reverse of the impression it is quite indistinct.

⁶ Regarding this sign see the remarks in the flowing text.

⁷ Sahni: *kāraṇika*. The subscript -ṣa of *k[ṣ]ā*, though somewhat damaged, appears to be certain. On the other hand, the *u*-sign of the second *akṣara* is extremely doubtful and apparently only a flaw in the stone. After *k[ṣ]āraṇika* three dots are faintly visible. They possibly represent an initial *i*, or if one of them should be accidental, the *visarga*, but they may after all be meaningless. [One of the rubbings of our collection (cf. below p. 292) shows after the dots the remnants of an *akṣara* which may be read as [m]. or as [m].[ṇ]. Therefore the reading *i[m](a)[ṇ]* seems to be not impossible.]

⁸ [Cf. Lüders, *Acta Orientalia* 18. 1940, p. 19.]

vyāstā at the end of the first line as a misspelling for *vāsta*- and supplying (*-vyānām*).

But I cannot follow him in restoring the last four *akṣaras* at the end of the second line as *dharmava(ba)la-[vrddhyartham*]*, “for the increase of the religious merit and strength”. Apart from the fact that the second *akṣara* is *rmā* and the fourth probably *lām*, *dharma* can hardly mean “religious merit” and the misspelling *vala* for *bala* is, at any rate, unusual at this time. I would suggest to restore the word as *dharmā-vala[m](bānām)* and to consider it as qualifying *(Ma)[h](ā)sāṅghik(ā)n(ām)*, although such an epithet does not seem to occur in literary sources.

The last line is even more puzzling. *K[ṣ]āraṇika* I take to mean the object of the grant. The word is unknown, but, as Sahni states, the stone on which the inscription is engraved probably formed part of a channel for carrying off water and, as we should naturally expect the inscription to record the gift of this channel, we may perhaps venture to assign the meaning of ‘channel’ to *kṣāraṇika*. From the etymological point of view this would not be unlikely, *kṣāraṇika* being evidently derived from the root *kṣar* ‘to flow’.

Before *k[ṣ]āraṇika* there is a most peculiar sign. It has the appearance of a quadrangle with a cross in the middle and a long vertical line added to the right. Sahni takes it to be the symbol for 91 and restores the preceding syllables *///rṣāṇā* as *(va)rṣāṇā*. Sahni’s interpretation, of course, cannot be called impossible, although the sign for 90 generally is more rounded and the sign for 1 ought not to be joined to the sign for 90, but I cannot believe that 91 years should have been mentioned here and that this should be the date of the inscription, as suggested by Sahni, as a date would seem to be quite out of place in the context. We might rather expect that rain-water should be spoken of in connection with the channel, but I am unable to offer a satisfactory explanation of this passage. Would it be possible that the strange sign was a letter that was crossed out by the engraver?

6. From the Gau-Ghāt Well

⟨97b⟩

Facsimile: below p. 292

§ 80

Kṣa 31

Inscription on a stone slab from the Gau-Ghāt well in Mathurā City and now in the Mathurā Museum (No 461). The slab is roughly dressed on three sides. The inscription is engraved on the fourth side.

It was edited by D.R. Sahni, Ep. Ind. 19. 1927/28, p. 67 No 5 + pl.

TEXT

- 1 Bodhisatvo s[a]hā¹ mātāpitihi s[a]hā¹ upajhāyena Dharmakena
 2 sahā ātevāsikehi² s[a]hā¹ ātevāsinihi Śīrivihāre
 3 ācariyānaṃ³ Samitiyāna parigrahe sarvabudhapujāye

TRANSLATION

The Bodhisattva (was set up) together with the parents, together with the preceptor Dharmaka, together with the male pupils, together with the female pupils, at the Śīrivihāra (*Śrīvihāra*) for the acceptance of the Samitiya teachers for the worship of all Buddhas.

The inscription has the outward appearance of being complete, but from the context there can be no doubt that the beginning, which contained the name of the donor, must be lost. This part of the inscription was probably engraved on the pedestal of the statue to which the slab was attached.

7. From the Dalpat-ki-Khīrki Mohalla

⟨23b⟩

Facsimile: below p. 293

§ 81

Inscription on the base of the image of a standing Buddha of which only the feet and lower parts of the garment are preserved, discovered in an elevated part of the Dalpat-ki-Khīrki Mohalla in Mathurā City, now in the Patnā Museum.

The record was edited by D. R. Sahni, Ep. Ind. 19. 1927/28, p. 96f. + pl. (showing the stone with the inscription).

TEXT

- 1 mahārāja-devaputrasya Kaṇṣkasya⁴ saṃvatsare 10 4 Pauṣamāsa-divase⁵ 10 asmiṃ divase pravārika⁶-Hā[s]th(is)y(a)

¹ [In three instances of this word the *sa* is written at the top of its left part with a short but distinct stroke to the right.]

² There is a distinct horizontal stroke below the right foot of the *te*. It cannot be accidental. I would not deem it impossible that it is meant for a subscript *-na* and that the whole *akṣara* is an attempt of writing *nte*. But it is perhaps more natural to join the sign as *anusvāra* with the *na* of the next line in *ācariyānaṃ*.

³ The second *akṣara* is rather *ca* than *cā*.

⁴ Sahni: *Kaṇṣkasya*, but the second *akṣara* seems to be *nī*.

⁵ This is Sahni's reading. There is a horizontal stroke below the *ṣa* which I cannot account for.

⁶ Sahni: *Prāvarika*-. There is hardly an *ā*-sign attached to the *pra*.

- 2 bharyyā¹ Saṃghilā bhagavāto Pitāmahāsyā² sammyasaṃbuddhasya
svamatasya devasya pūjārthāṃ¹ pratimaṃ pratiṣṭhā-
3 payati sarvvādukkhaphrahānārthāṃ³—

TRANSLATION

In the year 14 of *mahārāja devaputra* Kaniṣka, on the 10th day of the month Pauṣa, on this day, Saṃghilā, the wife of the cloakmaker Hāsthi (*Hastin*), sets up the image for the veneration of the holy Pitāmaha, the Supremely Enlightened, the god who holds his own tenets, for the cessation of all misery.

The inscription is peculiar in several respects.

The writing agrees in some points with that of the Mathurā inscriptions of the Kuṣān period. The *na* shows the form with the curved base-line, which as a rule appears in the Mathurā inscriptions, not the later looped form which sporadically is found there. — For *sa* the form with the hook and the form with the loop are promiscuously used just as in the Mathurā inscriptions List No 122 (probably from the beginning of the Kuṣān era), List No 32 (S. 25), § 24: List No 38 (S. 33), List No 74 (S. 93). — The *ma*, however, appears in the form which it has assumed in the Gupta period. The letter is exactly the same as the *ma* in a Mathurā inscription of the time of Candragupta II (CII 3, p. 25ff. No 4).⁴ — But the greatest surprise is caused by the letters *la* and *ha*, which show the typical forms of the eastern Gupta script. The central bar slants down to the base-line, but the left part of the base-line is not yet rounded off and attached as a loop to the central bar. I quite agree with D. R. Bhandarkar (Ep. Ind. 21. 1931/32, p. 1ff.) when he asserts that we have no longer the right to speak of an eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet. Our inscription definitely proves that the letters *la* and *ha* existed in the eastern forms already in the first half of the second century A. D. and that the eastern *sa* began to develop at the same time. On the other hand we cannot overlook the fact that the great majority of the inscriptions which

¹ [In the inscription the *anusvāra* is written in two different ways — either as a horizontal stroke or as a dot above the respective *akṣara*. — Judging from the plate in the Ep. Ind. all instances of the superscript *ra* show at the top a horizontal stroke to the right, which was read by Sahnī as *rā* only in *bharyyā*. Reading in line 2 *pūjārthāṃ*, he apparently took it as the sign for the *anusvāra*, although his reproduction distinctly shows that the stroke just mentioned is connected with the *r*- and that it is followed by a dot, certainly indicating the *anusvāra*, which for want of space is written in this case to the right of the *akṣara*. From the purely graphical point of view the *akṣara* is to be transcribed as *rtthāṃ*, just as the last *akṣara* of the whole inscription where the *anusvāra* is written as a horizontal stroke to the left of the superscript *rā*.]

² Sahnī: *pitāmahasya*, but the *ā*-sign of *hā* is distinct.

³ Sahnī: *-prahānārthāṃ*, but *nā* is distinct. [For the last *akṣara* read by Sahnī as *rtthāṃ*, cf. above note 1. The same applies to the reading *rvvā*.]

⁴ I see no reason why D. R. Bhandarkar, Ep. Ind. 21. 1931/32, p. 2, considers this form of *ma* as belonging to the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet.

show the peculiar forms of the three letters *ṣa*, *la* and *ha* come from the east,¹ and it is therefore in all probability that part of the country which was the original home of the new mode of writing. There are only two records from the western region which are written in the eastern variety of the script, an inscription at Udayagiri of the time of Candragupta II (CII 3, p. 34ff. No 6) and the inscription of Candragupta on the iron pillar at Meharauli (CII 3, p. 139ff. No 32), but this anomaly can be sufficiently explained. The Udayagiri inscription was caused to be engraved by a minister of Candragupta II who calls himself expressly a native of Pāṭaliputra, and the inscription on the iron pillar, which originally stood elsewhere, possibly near Harwār,² is probably due to some officer of Candragupta II.³

Perhaps the use of the eastern characters in our inscription may be accounted for in a similar way. It is not improbable that Saṃghilā, who dedicated the image, hailed from the east. At any rate the inscription is couched in terms which are never found in the Mathurā inscriptions, but recur in the Buddhist inscriptions in the eastern part of the country. The strange designation of Buddha as *bhagavān Pitāmahaḥ* is found again in an inscription from Dēoriyā (List No 910), where also the concluding benedictory phrase is the same as in our record: *bhagavat(o) Pitāmahaḥ pratimā pratiṣṭhāpit(ā) arya-Ttadiye (?) śiṣiniye Ugahakaye dukhaprahāṇartha(m)*⁴. Dēoriyā, a small village on the right bank of

¹ A complete list of the inscriptions in the eastern script known up to 1926 will be found in my edition of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* of Kumāralāta, p. 4. Since that time another copperplate dated in S. 188 has turned up at Gunaighar. It has been edited by D. Ch. Bhattacharyya, *IHQ* 6. 1930, p. 45ff. I cannot agree with D. R. Bhandarkar, when he assigns the characters of the Mathurā inscription of Candragupta II (CII 3, p. 25ff. No 4) to the eastern script (cf. *Ep. Ind.* 21. 1931/32, p. 1ff.). Not only the text letters *ṣa*, *la*, *ha*, but also *na*, *na*, *sa* appear here in the western forms. The only peculiarity consists in the use of the *ma* in the form of the Kuṣān inscriptions.

² *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 8. 1927°, p. 172ff.

³ As pointed out by D. R. Bhandarkar (*Ep. Ind.* 21, p. 2), in the very carelessly engraved Gaḍhā (Jasdan) inscription (*Ep. Ind.* 16. 1921/22, p. 237f.), dated in the year 127 or 126 (A. D. 205 or 206), *ha* is written four times in the western, twice in the eastern fashion, in *ma[ha]kṣa[tra]*[pasya]* in l. 4 and in *Rudrasihā-[putra]*[jaya]* in l. 5. Evidently the engraver endeavoured to show his acquaintance with different alphabets. For *ma* also he has promiscuously used the older and the later forms. [For the *ma* in the 'Southern alphabet' which has retained its ancient form, but with a base-line which in certain cases has bent downwards, cf. also:] *Ep. Ind.* 12. 1913/14, p. 317, 6 [= Mandasor inscription from the time of Naravarman].

⁴ [In 1873 Cunningham published a first reading of the inscription, *ASI [Ann.] Rep.* 3. 1873, p. 48 No C.] *Pitāmaha* seems to have survived as a name of Buddha until later times. As pointed out by Hirananda Sastri (*ASI Ann. Rep.* 1928/29. 1933, p. 115f.) a stone inscription of the eleventh century A. D. unearthed at Nālandā mentions the decoration of the monastery of *Pitāmaha* at a place called *Coyandaka* [= Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrimitra, ed. by N. G. Majumdar, *Ep. Ind.* 21. 1931/32, p. 97—101, line 8: ... *Coyandake* ... *Pitāmahasya vihārikāyāṇaṁ navakarmma citraṁ* ...].

the Jamnā, about ten miles to the south-south-west of Allahābād, is situated within the domain of the eastern script, which accordingly also is used in the inscription. About a mile to the south-east of Dēōriyā, near the village of Mankuwār, Bhagvanlal Indraji discovered a seated statue of Buddha, which on the pedestal bears an inscription in eastern characters dated in S. 129 in the reign of Kumāragupta (CII 3, p. 45ff. No 11). Here again the terminology to a large extent agrees with that of our inscription: ... *bhagavato samyak sambuddhasya² svamatāviruddhasya iyaṃ pratimā pratiṣṭhāpitā bhikṣu-Buddhamitreṇa sambat 100 20 9 mahārāja-śrī-Kumāraguptasya rājye Jyeṣṭhamāsa di 10 8 sarvvaduḥkkha-prahānārtham*.

The term *svamatāviruddha*- 'who was never refuted in respect of his tenets' helps even to understand the curious epithet *svamatasya devasya* assigned to the Buddha in our inscription. It means probably not 'of her own favourite deity' as suggested by Sahnī, but 'of the god who holds his own tenets'. The epithet *deva* as applied to the Buddha is unique, but already in the Bhārhut inscriptions List No 881¹ and 902 Buddha is called *Mahādeva* and the Mahāvīyutpatti (1, 16) cites *Devāti-deva* as one of his names.

There is another remarkable difference between the present epigraph and all other Brāhmī inscriptions of the Kuṣān period as regards the date. Our inscription is the only record of that time which quotes the month by its Hindu solar name instead of the season name. The reason for this deviation from the common practice is not apparent.

8. From the Bharatpur State Mound

{143j}*

§ 82

K 214

Fragmentary inscription on a broken pillar from the Bharatpur State mound just behind the Mathurā Museum building, now deposited in the Museum. At the top of the pillar are four winged lions, one of which is broken.

TEXT

- 1 ṣṭ[i]cchatraṃ³
2

TRANSLATION

... .. post (?) and an umbrella.

¹ [Cf. Lüders, Bhārhut und die buddhistische Literatur, 1941, p. 77 ff.; CII 2, 2, 1.]

² [Cf. the Kōsam inscription of the reign of *mahārāja* Vaiśravaṇa of the year 107, ed. by N. G. Majumdar, Ep. Ind. 24. 1937/38, p. 146—148, line 11 f.: ... *bhagavato Pitāmahasya sammyaksambuddhasya* ...]

³ The *i*-sign of ṣṭa is not certain. May we restore (*ya*)ṣṭicchatraṃ?

〈143f〉

Facsimile: below p. 293

§ 83

Ś 15

Inscription on a terra-cotta dabber from the mound at the back of the Museum, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 1725).

It was published by N. G. Majumdar, ASI Ann. Rep. 1930—34, 2. 1936, p. 261 + pl. 130, 6.

TEXT

Kachipasa

TRANSLATION

Of Kachipa (*Kāśyapa*).

9. From the Gāyatrī Tīlā

〈143g〉

Facsimile: below p. 293

§ 84

K 211

Fragmentary inscription on a sculpture showing a sitting male figure with big belly and two standing figures of females, from the Gāyatrī Tīlā, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 1346). The inscription is engraved on the upper rim of the sculpture.

TEXT

1 Dasasya vadhū[ye] ...//

2 Vṛdhisya bhāgīn[iye]///

TRANSLATION

..... by the daughter-in-law of Dasa (*Dāsa*) ... by the sister of Vṛdhi (*Vṛddhi*).

Dasa and Vṛdhi are perhaps only the second members of compound names.

10. From the Dig Gate

〈149i〉*

§ 85

K 226

Inscription on the upper rim of a pedestal showing a Dharmacakra with a worshipping seated figure and a sejant lion turned outward on either side. The pedestal was obtained from the Dig gate of Mathurā City. It is now in the Mathurā Museum (No 2605).

TEXT

Dāsasya kuṭu[bini]ye . . . [ma]s[i]ye¹

TRANSLATION

By . . . masī, the housewife of Dāsa.

I dare not decide whether the pedestal belongs to a Buddhist or a Jaina image.

11. From the Bharatpur Gate

⟨97d⟩

Facsimile: below p. 293

§ 86

Kṣa 32

Fragmentary inscription on a pedestal found at the Bharatpur gate. It is now in the Mathurā Museum (No 1612).

TEXT

Ālānake vihāre Mahāsaghiyānaṃ parigrahe sarvabudhap(u)[ja](y)e

TRANSLATION

(Something was dedicated) at the Ālānaka convent for the acceptance of the Mahāsaghiyas (*Mahāsāṅghikas*)² for the worship of all Buddhas.

12. From the Sitalā-Ghāṭī

⟨143a⟩*

§ 87

K 205

Fragmentary inscription on the pedestal of the statuette of a seated Buddha which was set up near a shrine at Sitalā-Ghāṭī in Mathurā City. Vogel, who discovered the image and acquired it for the Mathurā Museum, gave a detailed description of it and mentioned the inscription which is incised on the proper left side of the pedestal, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 53 (A 21).

[The statuette was figured by Vogel, op. cit., pl. 16, ASI Ann. Rep. 1909/10, 2. 1914, pl. 23c (cf. p. 66), by Bachhofer, Frühind. Plastik/Early Indian Sculpture 1929, pl. 84(l.), by Vogel, Sculpture de Mathurā 1930, pl. 27a, etc.]

¹ The first two letters of the name are obliterated. The third *akṣara* seems to be *ma*, although the bottom-line is not visible. If there was more writing on the stone, it is lost now.

² [Cf. Lüders, Acta Orientalia 18. 1940, p. 19.]

TEXT

///nām¹ hitasukhārtha[m]

TRANSLATION

..... for the welfare and happiness (of all sentient beings).

13. From the Arjunpura Mohalla Mound

92

Facsimile: below p. 293

§ 88

Ś 2

The inscription was discovered by Cunningham on the Arjunpura Mohalla mound (to the north-west of Sītalā-Ghāṭī) on what he called a small "Buddhist" pillar which seems to be lost now.

A transcript of the inscription together with an eye-copy was published by Cunningham, ASI [Ann.] Rep. 20. 1885, p. 36 + pl. 5, 1.

According to the just mentioned eye-copy:

TEXT

- 1 Āmoghāra-
- 2 khitaye²
- 3 dānam

TRANSLATION

The gift Amoghārakhitā (*Amoghārakṣitā*).

14. From the Jamnā Bāgh

〈97a〉

Facsimile: below p. 294

§ 89

Ś 13

Inscription around the outer upper edge of a hemispherical stone bowl supported on the broken head of a male figure. The stone was lying in the Jamnā Bāgh on the right bank of the Jamnā just outside Mathurā

¹ Probably to be restored as (*sarvasatvā*)nām.

² In his transcript Cunningham gave: *Amogha-Rakhitaye dānam*. For grammatical reasons the length of the initial *a* of the name is improbable. Whether the reading was *Amoghārakhitaye* or *Amogharakhitaye*, cannot be decided with certainty, but it tells in favour of the former that in § 1: L. 125a we find the name *Amohāsī* = Sk. *Amoghādāsī*.

City, where it was used for watering cattle. Pandit Radha Krishna acquired it for the Mathurā Museum (No 260).

The sculpture is figured in Vogel, *Sculpture de Mathurā* 1930, pl. 49a (cf. p. 54f.), and ASI Ann. Rep. 1930—34, 2. 1936, p. 252f. + pl. 121d. The inscription was edited by D. R. Sahni, Ep. Ind. 19. 1927/28, p. 67f. No 6 + pl.

TEXT

- 1 [Im]drasamapūt[a]sa¹ Ayala[sa] dana² savabūdhānam³ pūjāya
 Suv[a]n[a]k[ā]r[ā]ra[vi](hā)r[e]⁴ ā[ca]r[i]y[ā]n[a]⁵ [Ma]h[opa]-
 d[e]s[ak][ā]n[am]⁶
 2 parigahe

TRANSLATION

The gift of Ayala, the son of Imdrasama (*Indrasarman*), for the worship of all Buddhas in the Suvanākāravihāra (*Suvarṇakāravihāra*) for the acceptance of the Mahopadesaka (*Mahopadesaka*) teachers.

Sahni takes the last word of the first line (Sk. *mahopadesakānām*) as an epithet qualifying the preceding word, in my reading: *ācariyāna*, 'of the teachers who were great preachers'. But as in the corresponding phrase in other inscriptions⁷ the genitive of *ācārya* is invariably connected with the name of the Buddhist school, *Mahopadesaka* also must be considered to be the name of a school, although in literature it does not seem to have turned up until now. Under these circumstances it is all the more to be regretted that the reading of the name cannot be thoroughly relied upon.

¹ Perhaps the first *akṣara* is to be read *ī*, not *im*. [But cf. p. 207, n. 3.] — On the top of the *ta* there is a stroke which looks like the *ā*-sign, but from the reverse of the estampage it would seem to be accidental. [— The estampage is lost now.]

² The *da* is a little blurred, but there seems to be no sign of the length. On the other hand it is not quite impossible that there was an *anusvāra* after *na*.

³ Sahni: *-būdhānam*, but the *ā*-sign of *dhā* is distinct.

⁴ Sahni: *Suvanākara*-. The *na* is certain and the *ā*-sign of *k[ā]* at any rate not improbable.

⁵ Sahni: *ācariyana*. The *ā*-sign of *y[ā]* is highly probable. In the estampage there is no *anusvāra* visible at the end of the word.

⁶ Sahni: *[ma]hopad[e]saka*. The reading is ingenious and may be right, although it presents several difficulties. The first *akṣara* can be read as *ma* only if it is assumed that the upper half of the letter has been destroyed; what is visible of the letter looks like *va* or *vā*. The second *akṣara* may be *ha*, but just as well *pa* or even *sa*; the supposed *o*-sign is anything but clear. The third letter has a middle-bar which gives it the appearance of *gha*, but this bar may be accidental. The *e*-sign of *d[e]* is very problematic; it would be easier to read *d[ā]*. The *ā* of *k[ā]* and the *anusvāra* appear to be probable.

⁷ Cf. § 80: L. 97b, and List No 12, 918, 919, 923, 929a, 929b, 987; cf. also List No 5.

<97e>

Facsimile: below p. 294

§ 90

K 116

Inscription on the pedestal of a standing image, found in the Jamnā Bāgh in Mathurā City and now in the Mathurā Museum (No 1351).

The inscription was edited by V. S. Agrawala, JUPHS 10. 1937, p. 4 No 6.

TEXT

- 1 bhikhusa Budhav[ā]lāsa¹ dān[a]² māt[ā]-
2 pit[r]in[a]³ pujāye savasav[ā]n[a]⁴ ca⁵

TRANSLATION

The gift of the monk Budhavāla (*Buddhapāla*) for the worship of his parents and all beings.

15. From Īsāpur

<124r>

Facsimile: below p. 294

§ 91

2nd cent. B. C.

Fragmentary inscription on a round stone, recovered from the well Bagaci Birhal, Īsāpur⁶, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 976).

TEXT

///rāñyo⁷ e ..///

The characters are those of the second century B. C., and the writing ñyo, apparently for ñño, is not without interest.

<124t>

Facsimile: below p. 294

§ 92

Fragmentary inscription on the upper and lower rims of a broken pedestal from the Shah Quazi well, Īsāpur, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 790).

¹ Agrawala: *Budhavalasa*, but the ā-sign of the third akṣara is very probable.

² Perhaps we ought to read the last akṣara as nā.

³ Agrawala: *mātu/pituna*. The ā-sign of t[ā] is not quite certain, but probable on the reverse of the estampage. The last but one akṣara is to be read as t[r]i. [For the last akṣara see note 2.]

⁴ The fourth letter is v[ā] or possibly va, but certainly an error for either tū or tvā. [For the last akṣara see note 2.]

⁵ Agrawala: *bha*. The reading ca is certain.

⁶ [Īsāpur, usually called Hans Gañj, is a suburb of the city of Mathurā, situated on the left bank of the river Jamnā opposite the Viśrānt Ghāṭ. Cf. Vogel, ASI. Ann. Rep. 1910/11, 2. 1914, p. 40.]

⁷ [To judge from the obverse of the impression the first akṣara seems to be ri, but from the reverse the reading given above is quite certain.]

TEXT

1 ///.. va [eke] ///

2 ///..... dānaṃ

Apparently the inscription recorded the gift of the image.

<149z>*

§ 93

K 234

Inscription on the pedestal of a fragmentary Jina image, found in a well in a garden at Īsāpur, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 972).

The inscription, which is much worn out, was edited by V. S. Agrawala, JUPHS 10. 1937, p. 3 No 4.

TEXT

1 [siddha¹ Na]ganandisya² śiṣya³ sya⁴ [nirvva]tana⁵2 sya dhit[u] Bhavana[nda]sya⁶ kuṭumbi[ni]ye ma ..3 .. sya Devilasya⁷ mātu ye⁸

TRANSLATION

Success! (?) At the request of, the pupil of Naganandi (*Nāganandin*), (the gift) of, the daughter of, the housewife of Bhavananda, the mother of Devila.

149a

Facsimile: below p. 295

§ 94

K 221

Inscription on one of the two sacrificial posts discovered in 1910 by Pandit Radha Krishna in the bed of the Jamnā river at Īsāpur, now in the Mathurā Museum.

The record was first published, with the assistance of D. R. Sahni, by Vogel, JRAS 1910, p. 1311–14. Fleet added some remarks with reference to the date, *ibid.*, p. 1315–17. Vogel edited the inscription again, *Orien-*

¹ The reading is not certain.

² Agrawala: *nāga*, but the *na* seems to have no *ā*-sign.

³ Agrawala: *hari sya*. The reading *śiṣya* appears to be certain.

⁴ Agrawala reads *ṛddhilasya*. I cannot follow him, but I cannot suggest a reading that would satisfy myself. The name seems to end in *-gasya*.

⁵ Agrawala: *nirvartana*, but there is no *r*-sign on the top of the *ta*.

⁶ Agrawala: *bhavanakasya*. The fourth *akṣara* may be *nda*.

⁷ Agrawala: *dātilasya*. The reading given above is certain. The following letters were not read by Agrawala.

⁸ The last word was probably *dānaṃ*.

talisches Archiv 1. 1910, p. 86ff., Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 189 (Q 13), and, after having briefly referred to it, JRAS 1912, 118f., once more, with a detailed comment, ASI Ann. Rep. 1910/11, 2. 1914, p. 40–48 + pl. 23–24 (illustrating the two posts and the inscription).

TEXT

- 1 siddham || mahārājasya rajātirājasya¹ devapu-
- 2 trasya śāher-vVāsiṣkasya rājyasamvatsare² [ca]-
- 3 turvi[m]śe³ 20 4 grāmāmase caturt[th]e 4 diva[s]e
- 4 tri[m]śe³ 30 asyām pūrvvāyām Rudrilaputtreṇa Droṇa-
- 5 lena brāhm[a]ṇena Bhāradvājasagottreṇa Mā-⁴
- 6 ṇacchandogena iṣ[ṭv]ā sattre[n]a⁵ dvā[d]āśar[ā]ttreṇa
- 7 yūpaḥ pratiṣṭhā[p]jitaḥ priyant[ā]m⁶-agnaya(h)⁷

TRANSLATION

Success! In the twenty-fourth – 24th – year of the reign of *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra śāhi* Vāsiṣka, in the fourth – 4th – month of summer, on the thirtieth – 30th – day, on this date, Droṇala, the son of Rudrila, a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* (and) a Māṇacchandoga (Māṇa ? of the Sāmaveda), having performed a sacrifice lasting twelve days, has set up the sacrificial post. May the (three) Fires be pleased!

The stone *yūpas* are apparently copies of the wooden posts that were actually used in the sacrifice and were set up to commemorate the performance of a large sacrifice. The meaning Māṇacchandoga has not yet been ascertained.

16. Records on Antiquities found in the Jamnā near Mathurā

⟨85a⟩

Facsimile: below p. 295

§ 95

K 101

Inscription on the pedestal of a headless Nāga statuette, found in the Jamnā near Mathurā, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 1610).

¹ Vogel, JRAS 1910: *r[ā*]jā-*, Cat. Mus. Math.: *r[ā]jāt[t]i-*, ASI: *r[ā]jāti-*. The reading given above is certain.

² [The subscript *-sa* is written in its looped form.]

³ The *anusvāra* is uncertain.

⁴ There seems to have been no more writing after *mā*.

⁵ [Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math.: *sattreṇa*, ASI: *sattrena*. Only the right part of the third *akṣara* is preserved, but the reading given above seems to be certain.]

⁶ Vogel: *priya-*. The *i*-sign of *pri* is distinct. [The *ā*-sign of the third *akṣara* is uncertain, the letter may be read as *nta*.]

⁷ [The right part of the *ya* is lost. The *visarga* is conjectural.]

The inscription was published by D. R. Sahni, ASI Ann. Rep. 1924/25. 1927, p. 149f. + pl. 40a.

TEXT

Dadhika[r]ṇṇ[o]¹

The inscription shows that the figure represented the Nāga Dadhikarṇa who, according to §27: L. 85 and §34: L. 63, had his shrine on the site of the Jamālpur mound, but, as pointed out by D. R. Sahni, it cannot be affirmed at present whether this is the very image that was worshipped in that shrine.

⟨85b⟩

Facsimiles: below p. 296

§ 96

K 102

Fragmentary inscription on the pedestal of a small Buddha statuette seated cross-legged of whom only the legs remain. The sculpture was found in the Jamnā and is now in the Mathurā Museum (No 2094).

The inscription was published by K. N. Dikshit, ASI Ann. Rep. 1930—34, 1. 1936, p. 227.

TEXT

mah[a]r[a]j[ā]²

[The word is written in a cartouche.]

¹ The o-sign is not absolutely certain, but probable.

² [Dikshit: *Mahārāja*. According to our two impressions (cf. below p. 296) the supposed ā-signs of the second and third *akṣaras* are quite uncertain. The reading j[ā] is more probable than j[a] as there is a slanting stroke attached to the middle-bar of the letter.]

III. INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE MATHURĀ DISTRICT

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1. Māṭ

The village of Māṭ is situated about 9 miles north of the City of Mathurā, on the left bank of the Jamnā. About three quarters of a mile to the north-east of the village there is a flat mound known as Tōkri Ṭilā, which was excavated in the spring of 1912 under the supervision of Pandit Radha Krishna. A short account of the excavation was given by Sir John Marshall, ASI Ann. Rep. 1911/12, 1. 1914, p. 14—16 § 37—43, and a more detailed one by Vogel, *ibid.*, 1911/12, 2. 1915, p. 120—127 (with a Plan of Excavations, Māṭ Site, 1912, on pl. 51).

Of the building, which once stood on the site of the mound, only scanty remains are left, the walls having been destroyed by the neighbouring villagers in digging for bricks. The pieces of walling that have come to light appear to belong to a rectangular plinth measuring about 100 feet from east to west and about 59 feet from north to south. The building which was erected on the plinth has now completely disappeared. From the nature of the walling in the middle of the western half of the mound, where some scanty remains of a circular structure can be distinguished, it may be concluded that it stood in this part of the plinth, facing the east where remains of a flight of steps, leading up to the plinth, were found.

On the south, at some distance from the plinth, there are remnants of masonry foundations. Vogel takes them to mark an enclosure, rectangular in shape, which may have contained rows of dwelling rooms.

To the west of the plinth is a tank which was partly excavated. As it is built of large bricks of exactly the same size as those used in the plinth, it must be contemporary with the building.

Two inscriptions found on the site disclose the history of the buildings. From the inscription §98: L. 80d, which for palaeographical reasons cannot be later than the first years of Kaniṣka's reign and which records the construction of a temple (*devakula*)¹, a tank (*puṣkarinī*), a hall (*sabhā*), and a gateway (*dārakoṭhaka*), we can infer that the temple

¹ Grierson, JRAS 1921, p. 286 [briefly noticed a shorter article of Gaurī Śaṅkara Hīrāchand Ojhā on *devakulas* in connexion with Bāṇa's reference to Bhāsa in the *Harṣacarita* and the latter poet's *Pratimānāṭaka* in]: *Nāgarīpracāriṇī Patrikā* [the (Research) Journal of the (Benares) *Nāgarī Prachāriṇī* (!) *Sabhā* (N.S.) 1.1920°]. [Cf. below p. 176, n. 2.]

with all its accessories as revealed by the excavation¹ dates from the beginning of Kaniṣka's reign or even a little earlier time.

The inscription § 99: L. 80c is considerably later; from the text it appears that it was incised during the lifetime of Huviṣka. It mentions again the temple (*devakula*) and the tank (*talāga*), but its proper object apparently is to record the restoring of the temple which in the meantime must have gone out of repair.

On the supposed temple site stood the lower half of a colossal statue of a Kuṣān king seated on his throne. The inscription § 98: L. 80d is engraved between his feet. The upper half of the statue was discovered at some distance to the west at the tank where it was worshipped as Baran, i. e. Varuṇa, the god of the waters.² As pointed out by Vogel (ASI Ann. Rep. 1911/12, 2. 1915, p. 123), the statue seems to have been wilfully broken, the break showing a series of holes as if made with some sharp tool. As regards the original position of the image, Vogel (op. cit., p. 121) remarked: "At first sight it might appear that it was placed inside the temple as an object of worship. The circumstance, however, that sculptured fragments belonging to this statue were found further east within the plinth area militates against such an assumption. The following is perhaps a more acceptable explanation... I presume that the person who found the image tried in the first place to remove it bodily to the tank, but after moving it some little distance towards the west found it too heavy and gave up the attempt. He then broke the image in two and removed only the upper half."

A little to the south of the supposed temple, remnants of three images were found. The first is a life-sized standing figure of which the head and the arms are lost. According to the inscription, § 97: L. 78b, it is a portrait statue of Kaniṣka. The second is the lower half of a standing image almost life-size, accompanied by a dwarf or Yakṣa on his right side and a lion carved on the back of the sculpture (cf. below p. 144, n. 1). Of the third image only the pedestal with the inscription § 99: L. 80c is preserved. On the top of it traces of the left foot of the statue are visible and, as stated by Vogel (op. cit., p. 126), from the position and shape of this foot it would seem that the statue to which it belonged had the same boots as e. g. the image of Kaniṣka. The person represented was therefore probably another Kuṣān prince which, as we shall see later on, is quite in agreement with the facts to be derived from the inscription.

¹ Details will be discussed below.

² This is the account given in Vogel's Report, ASI Ann. Rep. 1911/12, 2. 1915, p. 121, line 39ff. It is contradicted by the statements on p. 123, line 30ff, but these are apparently erroneous. The sentence on pl. 51, 6 "Lower part of a standing figure", appears to be a mistake for "Upper part of a sitting figure", and the red figure 6 seems to be put in the wrong place, the tank being situated to the west, not to the north of the plinth.

Vogel thought it possible that the pedestal just mentioned formed part of the same image as the torso which was found at a little distance further south of the plinth and which by its dress is shown to have belonged to the portrait statue of another Kuṣān prince. In my opinion the supposed connection between the pedestal and the torso is precluded by the inscription on the torso, §100: L. 80e, which is in considerably later characters than the inscription on the pedestal. But there has been another piece of sculpture showing part of a neck with a torque,¹ and Vogel's alternative suggestion that this fragment belonged to the lost statue is very plausible.

There were probably some more portrait statues at the site and to one of them belongs the detached head with the monogram treated under §101: L. 80f.

⟨78b⟩

Facsimile: below p. 296

§ 97

K 80

Inscription on a standing figure, discovered by Pandit Radha Krishna in 1911/12, from the Tōkrī Ṭilā near the village of Māt, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 213).

The head and the arms of the statue are missing. The figure wears a tunic reaching below the knees, held round the loins by means of a girdle, and a long overcoat. The feet are shod with very heavy boots. The right hand rests on a mace placed on the ground. The left hand clasps the hilt of a sword the sheath of which is fastened by means of two straps to the overcoat. The inscription is engraved across the lower portion of the upper and lower garments. [As Vogel remarked,² it was evidently incised last of all, as some of the lines indicating the drapery run through the *akṣaras*.]

The record was edited by Vogel, *Journal of the Panjab Hist. Soc.* 2.1913°, p. 39ff. + pl., *Verslagen en Mededeelingen d. Kon. Akad. van Wetensch., Afd. Letterkunde*, 4, 12. 1914, p. 294—296 + pl. 1 showing the figure, (cf. also *Ann. Progr. Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle*, for the year ending 31st, March, 1912°, p. 2, and *ibid.*, for the year ending 31th, March, 1913°, p. 4,) *ASI Ann. Rep.* 1911/12, 2. 1915, p. 122f. + plate 53 showing the figure. It was edited also by Sir John Marshall, *ASI Ann. Rep.* 1911/12, 1. 1914, p. 14f.

The statue is figured also by Codrington, *Ancient India* 1926, p. 44 + pl. 21 E, by Coomaraswamy, *History of Ind. and Indones. Art/Geschichte*

¹ *ASI Ann. Rep.* 1911/12, 2. 1915, p. 126 + pl. 56.

² [*ASI Ann. Rep.* 1911/12, 2. 1915, p. 123.]

d. ind. u. indones. Kunst 1927, pl. 18, fig. 65, by Bachhofer, Frühind. Plastik/Early Ind. Sculpture 1929, pl. 76, by Vogel, Sculpture de Mathurā 1930, pl. 1 (cf. p. 22), etc.

TEXT

mahārājā rājātīrājā devaputro Kāṇiṣka

TRANSLATION

The *mahārāja rājātīrāja devaputra* Kāṇiṣka.

⟨80d⟩

Facsimile: below p. 296

§ 98

K 90

Inscription between the feet of a colossal seated figure of a king, discovered by Pandit Radha Krishna in 1911/12, from the Tōkrī Tīlā near the village of Māt, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 215).

The king is seated in European fashion on a throne supported by two lions on either side. In the right hand he apparently held a sword of which only the hilt is partially preserved. The left hand is broken; Vogel thinks that it rested on the scabbard laid across the knees. The head and the upper portion of the throne are lost and the knees are much damaged. The dress consisting of an upper and a lower garment and heavy top boots is similar to that of the Kāṇiṣka statue (cf. above p. 133).

The inscription was published by Vogel, Journal of the Panjab Hist. Soc. 2. 1913°, p. 39ff. + pl., Verslagen en Mededeelingen d. Kon. Akad. van Wetensch., Afd. Letterkunde, 4, 12. 1914, p. 296—298 + pl. 2 showing the figure. (cf. also Ann. Progr. Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st, March, 1912°, p. 2, para. 5.) ASI Ann. Rep. 1911/12, 1. 1914, p. 15f., ibid., 1911/12, 2. 1915, p. 123ff. + plate 54 showing front and side views of the statue. It was edited again by K. P. Jayaswal, JBORS 6. 1920, p. 12—22 (the article is accompanied by two plates showing the whole inscription and part of line 2).

The designation of the king mentioned in the inscription as *Kuṣāṇa-putro* was commented upon by von Staël-Holstein, JRAS 1914, p. 80 note 1; p. 87 note 1; p. 755; by Fleet, JRAS 1914, p. 369—371 + pl. and p. 1000—1002; by Konow, Ep. Ind. 21. 1931/32, p. 59f.

The statue is figured also by Bachhofer, Frühind. Plastik/Early Ind. Sculpture 1929, pl. 77—78 (l.), by Vogel, Sculpture de Mathurā 1930, pl. 2 (cf. p. 22), etc.

TEXT

- 1 mahārājo rājātīrājo¹ devaputro
 2 Kuṣāṇapu[t]r[o² śā]hi³ [Vema]⁴ Ta[kṣu]masya⁵
 3 b[a]kanapatina⁶ Hu[maṣpal. na]⁷ devakula[m]⁸ kāritā⁹
 4 ārāmo puṣkarīṇi udapān[am]¹⁰ ca sa[bh]ā dā[ra]koṭhako¹¹

TRANSLATION

The *mahārāja rājātīrāja devaputra*, the scion of the Kuṣāns, *śāhi* Vema (?). By the *bakanapati* of Taksuma (?), Humaṣpala (?), a temple was caused to be made, (moreover) a garden, a tank, and a well, an assembly hall, a gateway.

The translation does not pretend in the least to be final. It is based on the assumption that the inscription first gives the titles and the name of the person represented by the statue and then proceeds to record the erection of a temple, the laying out of a garden and the construction of several minor buildings by some *bakanapati*. As the record of these

¹ The *o*-sign at the end of the first two words was first recognised by Fleet.

² The dot above the *mātrkā ṇa* is apparently due to damage to the stone and does not represent the *anusvāra* as assumed by v. Staël-Holstein. The *o*-sign is blurred, but practically certain.

³ The first *akṣara* is not quite distinct, but *hi* is certain and the reading *śāhi* is undoubtedly correct.

⁴ The second *akṣara* is probably *ma*. The first *akṣara* was read *va* by Vogel and *v[e]* by Jayaswal. The *mātrkā* may be *va* and there may be an *e*-sign at the top of the letter, but the reading *vema* cannot be called certain.

⁵ Vogel (ASI Ann. Rep.) read [*takṣa*]masya and Jayaswal calls this reading absolutely correct and certain. In my opinion this statement is true only as far as the last two letters *masya* are concerned. The first *akṣara* may be *ta*, and if the second is a ligature, it may be *kṣa* or, more probably, *kṣu* [cf. Vogel, ASI Ann. Rep. 1911/12, 2, p. 125]. But in that case the *kṣa* or *kṣu* would seem to be separated by an unusually wide space from the following *ma*. Moreover, between the two letters there is a pretty distinct line which would make it even possible to read *takaḍamasya*. As the meaning of the word is perfectly obscure, I consider it unnecessary to enlarge upon the reading which, as matters stand, can be only tentative.

⁶ The reading is certain. The stroke above *ba* is accidental and can by no means denote an *r*- as assumed by Jayaswal.

⁷ The second *akṣara* was read *kṣa* by Jayaswal, which is impossible. My own reading cannot be called certain.

⁸ The reading *laṃ* seems to be certain.

⁹ The last *akṣara* appears to be *tā*, not *taṃ*.

¹⁰ Jayaswal read *udapānā*, but the supposed *ā*-sign of the third letter is not distinct and may be accidental. The *anusvāra* is not certain.

¹¹ Vogel: *sa ha dā — thena* (ASI Ann. Rep. 1911/12, 1), *sa — da* [*koṭhako*] (ibid., 1911/12, 2). — The reading *bhā* is not quite certain, but probable, whereas the reading *dā[ra]koṭhako* is certain. Jayaswal's reading *sa[m]va-6* [*stop*] *ṣaṭhako* [*full stop mark*] is quite impossible.

donations is inscribed on the statue, it may be assumed that the statue also was included among the gifts.

The combination of the three titles *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra* is frequently used in inscriptions in connection with Kanīṣka, Vāsiṣka, Huviṣka and Kanīṣka II, and it is probably only by chance that the third title has not yet turned up in connection with Vāsudeva.

The triad of titles was borne also by some of the earlier Kuṣāns. On a coin dug up at Sirkap¹ the slightly varying legend is *maharayasa rayarayasa devaputrasa Kuyula Kara Kaphsasa*, and the Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of the year 136 (CII 2,1, p. 77 No 27) records a donation *maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa Khuṣanasa aroga-dakṣiṇae*.

The term *Kuṣānaputra* does not occur anywhere else, neither in inscriptions nor in coin legends. Jayaswal (op. cit., p. 17ff.) holds that it means the son of Kuṣāṇa and that Kuṣāṇa is a personal name. He finds the name again in the just quoted Taxila Silver Scroll inscription and in the Panjtār inscription of the year 122 (CII 2, 1, p. 70 No 26) which is dated *maharayasa Guṣanasa rajami*. In conformity with this view, Jayaswal explains the epithet *Guṣanavaśasamvardhaka* applied to general Lala² in the Mānikiala inscription of the year 18 (CII 2, 1, p. 149 No 76) as meaning 'one who carries further the family of Kuṣana', 'a descendant of Kuṣan'. — The significance of Kuṣāṇa has formed the subject of a long controversy which will be exposed at length in the Introduction³. Here it may suffice to state that I agree with Fleet (JRAS 1914, loc. cit.) and Konow (Ep. Ind. 21. 1931/32, p. 59f.), who maintain that *Kuṣānaputra* means 'the scion of the Kuṣāns'⁴. In my opinion *Kuṣānaputra* is a mere synonym of *Kuṣāṇa*, *Guṣāṇa* used in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

Kuṣānaputro is followed by *śāhi* which in inscriptions occurs as a title of Kanīṣka (List No 21), Vāsiṣka (§ 94: L. 149a, List No 161), and Vāsudeva (List No 69a and 72). Everywhere it stands immediately before the personal name, and we should naturally expect that here also the name of the king should be given after *śāhi*.

However, [*Vema*]*[ta]*[*kṣu*]*[masya]*, of which the last two syllables at any rate are certain, appears to be a genitive, whereas all the titles show the nominative endings, and even if we admit that in the epigraphical language of this time it is perhaps not impossible that the titles should have been joined in the nominative to the name appearing in the genitive, we have to face the serious difficulty that we know

¹ [Cf. CII 2,1, p. LXV, line 1.]

² Not to Kanīṣka, as stated by Jayaswal.

³ [Not preserved in the Manuscript.]

⁴ Cf. *Sarukamānaputra* [Mathurā inscription of the year 28, ed. by Konow, Ep. Ind. 21. 1931/32. p. 55—61, line 2].

of no Kuṣān king whose name bears the slightest resemblance to the supposed name of the inscription.

Jayaswal therefore proposed to split up the reading of the difficult passage *vemataksūmasya*, into two words (op. cit., p. 17: *V[e]ma Takṣamasya*) and to take the first two syllables as the name of the king who on his coins is called *Ooemo Kadphises* and, in the Kharoṣṭhī legends, where the genitive is used, *Vima Kathphīśasa*.

It is true, a more correct form of the name would seem to be *Vimo*, but as in Kharoṣṭhī¹ and Brāhmī² inscriptions the names of Kaniṣka, Vāsiṣka, and Huviṣka also are occasionally spelt with *e* instead of *i* and as the bare stem may have been used instead of the inflected form, *Vema* may be accepted as the name of the king; it cannot be seriously objected that hitherto neither *devaputra* nor *Kuṣāṇa* nor *śāhi* have turned up as titles of Vima Kadphises, the materials available at present being too scanty.

Nevertheless the name of the king cannot be considered to be fully established as long as the true reading and meaning of the following three *akṣaras* have not been made out. Jayaswal's interpretation of *takṣamasya*, as he read, and of *bakanapatina* need not be discussed as they are based on a misunderstanding of the transliteration of Avestan *taṣma* and an absolutely impossible explanation of Old Persian *haumavarga*. *Bakanapati* occurs as *vakanapati* in the Mathurā inscription of the year 28.³ Konow thinks⁴ that the term may mean 'the lord of Wakhān'. But as the name of the country is Vokkāṇa in the Divyāvādāna (p. 580, 5), I would prefer to look at *bakanapati*, *vakanapati* as an Iranian word denoting some functionary. I have ventured to join it to the genitive *Ta[kṣu]masya*, but I confess that it is only a makeshift, which I am ready to give up if anything more plausible should be suggested.

Bakanapatina seems to have been followed by a personal name. It may have been *Humaspala*, but the reading is by no means certain.

The rest of the inscription also presents some difficulties, but they are of minor importance. *Kāritā* seems to be the nominative of the plural used with reference to all the objects of donation enumerated in the list. The *devakula* is undoubtedly the building where the three statues of the Kuṣān kings were set up. The meaning of the term will be discussed in the note on the following inscription. *Puṣkarini* evidently refers to the tank excavated to the west of the building. Perhaps the well (*udapāna*)⁵ was constructed in connection with this tank, and it may

¹ CII 2, 1, No 72, 76, 85, 86.

² § 14: L. 45a, § 24: L. 38, § 29: L. 52, § 180: L. 43.

³ [Edited by Konow, cf. Ep. Ind. 21. 1931/32, p. 60, line 3.]

⁴ [Konow, op. cit., p. 60.]

⁵ Or, perhaps *udapānā*; see above p. 135, n. 10.

be for this reason that the two terms *puṣkarīṇi* and *udapān[am]* are linked in the list by *ca*.

The *sabhā* was probably the building the masonry foundations of which were excavated to the south of the plinth. From the following inscription we may infer that it was used for feeding Brāhmaṇas. The gateway (*dārakoṭhaka*) was probably erected over the flight of steps which led up to the plinth on the eastern side.

As regards the date of the inscription, we have only the palaeographical evidence to depend on. The characters closely resemble those of the Sārnāth inscription List No 925, which is dated S. 3 of Kanīṣka's reign; compare especially the initial *ā* and the curved forms of the medial *i*-signs. But they may just as well be assigned to a little earlier time, and it is not impossible that the inscription was engraved during the reign of Vima Kadphises.

<80c>

Facsimiles: below p. 297

§ 99

K 89

Fragmentary inscription on the pedestal of a statue from the Tōkri Tīlā near the village of Māt, now in the Mathurā Museum.

As stated above (p. 132), the statue represented some Kuṣāṇ prince. The pedestal is badly mutilated. The proper right side is missing altogether, and the extant portion has come down to us in fourteen pieces of different sizes which were pieced together by Vogel.

The inscription was first brought to notice by Vogel, ASI Ann. Rep. 1911/12, 2. 1915, p. 125f. It was edited by D. R. Sahni, JRAS 1924, p. 402f.

TEXT

1 ///mak[a]ra[s]ya¹satyadha(r)[m]asth[i]tasya(=)nanayat Sarva-
Śca[m]davirātisrṣṭar[ā]jya[sya]²///

¹ The first preserved *akṣara* was read *na* by Sahni, but comparing the letter with the *na* in *-viśirṇa[m]* in line 3, *brāhma[nebhyaḥ]* in line 6 and, on the other hand, with the *ma* in *-dha(r)[m]a-* in line 1, *mahāraja-* in line 2, *ma[h]* in line 3, *m[aḥ](ā)-* in line 4, I think it more likely that it is *ma*. The second letter may be *k[u]*, but the seeming *u*-sign may be an accidental stroke.

² Sahni read: *-[s]thitasy-ān[u]nayat-sarvaścanda-virātisrṣṭa-rājya[sya]* . . . The *ā*-sign at the top of the first *sya* is very problematic and there is certainly no *u*-sign attached to the following *na*. There is a stroke slanting from the right to the left on the left side of the *da* and a horizontal stroke on the right side of the letter. A comparison with the certain *ṇda* of *(da)ṇdanā[yaka]* in line 5 makes it very improbable that the *akṣara* was meant for *ṇda*. Both strokes are probably accidental, but the slanting stroke may be meant for the *anusvāra*. The reading *vi* is more probable than *vi*.

- 2 ///. (de)[va]kulaṃ¹ mahārāja²-rājātīrāja-devaputrasya Huvi-
 [s]ka[s](y)[a]³ [p]itāmaha(sya)⁴///
 3 ///(ta)[ā]gaś⁵=c[a] (da)[tta]h⁶ [ta]taś⁷=ca devakal[am]⁸ bha]gnapatita-
 viśirṇa[m]⁹ d[r]śya¹⁰ ma[h].¹¹///
 4 ///m[ah](ā)rāja-[rāj]ātīrā[ja-d]evapu(trasya) Huviṣkasya āyu-
 ba[lav](r)d(dhy)artha¹² cakakra ..¹³ ..///
 5 ///(mahāda)ṇḍanā[yaka-ma]...[ś]...[n]. (ma)na[pāka]patina¹⁴

¹ Before *kulaṃ* is a blank which is due to the carelessness of the engraver. It seems that he started the line close to the first line and then, to avoid the collision with the *ra[s]ya* of the first line, left a blank space and continued the writing about $\frac{3}{4}$ " lower down. He has done exactly the same thing in line 3. Sahni, who edited the text from the stone itself, read *kulaṃ*, and I think that he was right. The horizontal stroke above the *mātrkā ka* appears to be not connected with the letter, but to belong to the subscript *-ya* of *[s]ya* in the first line. The *u*-sign, although partly coinciding with a flaw in the stone, is discernible. From the reverse of the impression it is clear that the following *akṣara* is *laṃ*, not *le*. The restoration of *kulaṃ* as *devakulaṃ* is practically certain from the context, and it is quite possible that the last letter of the higher portion of the line was *va* and that *de* has disappeared in the deep flaw to the left of the *va*. Faint traces of a letter to the left of the flaw may be interpreted as *śya*.

² The reading is certain, although the letters are distorted a little in piecing together the stone. The third *akṣara* is *ra*, not *rā*, as read by Sahni.

³ Of the last *akṣara* only the upper portion is preserved.

⁴ This is Sahni's reading, and although only the upper portion is preserved of *[p]i*, and *śya* is very indistinct, I am convinced that the reading is right.

⁵ Sahni: *[taā]gaś*, but the second letter is *ā*. The *ta* is almost entirely obliterated.

⁶ Sahni: *krtaḥ*. Owing to a large fissure in the stone the first *akṣara* is destroyed, but there is nothing to indicate that it was *kr*, and the second letter seems to be *ta*. I would suggest to read *(da)[tta]h*, but I cannot account for the two vertical strokes which are pretty distinct above the supposed *ta*.

⁷ The first *ta* was apparently inserted above the line.

⁸ There is no *u*-sign attached to the *ka*, though, of course, *devakulaṃ* is the intended word.

⁹ Sahni: *-patitaṃ*, but the *anusvāra* is uncertain.

¹⁰ Sahni read *daśya* and corrected it to *drśya*. The *r*-sign seems to have been actually engraved.

¹¹ The *ha* is so much damaged that it cannot be called certain.

¹² The word was read by Sahni who thought that the last *akṣara* was *rtha[ṇ]*, but there appears to be no *anusvāra*.

¹³ Sahni: *ca ku (?)*, but the second *akṣara* is distinctly *kkra*. The following letter seems to have been *ma*. May we restore *ca(ṇ)kkra(ma)-?*

¹⁴ Sahni read: *[Mahāda]ṇḍanāyaka-Maśa...[pu]te(tre)ṇa Ba[kana]-patina(ā)*. The syllables *mahāda* are conjectural, but certain. The second *ma* is not quite distinct, but probable. The next *akṣara* is illegible, but there is nothing to show that it was *śa*. It is followed by an *akṣara* containing a subscript *-śa*, probably *kṣa*. Then follow two *akṣaras* which are entirely destroyed and a letter of which the bottom-line is preserved and which may have been *na* or *ṇa*. It is tempting to restore the word as *[ma](hāk)[ś](atrape)[ṇ](a)*, but it is not likely that a person should have borne at the same time the titles *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* and *mahākṣatrapa*. — Of the next word the syllables *.. na ... patina* are perfectly clear, i. e. the 3 letters preceding *patina* cannot be *bakana*. The *akṣara* read by

Śāu.e¹ p[u]kasya²///
 6 ///[ṣ]y[a]ti³ [nai]ty[a]k[ā]tith[i]bhyaś⁴ca brā[hma]ṇebhyaḥ kārī-
 ṣya(ti) [m].///

TRANSLATION

- (line 1:) of the ...maker, who is steadfast in the true Law, on whom, on account of his devotion, the kingdom was conferred by Sarva and Ścaṇḍavira (*Caṇḍavīra*),
- (line 2:) the temple, the ... of the grandfather of *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Huviṣka*
- (line 3:) and a tank was given. And later on, having seen that the temple was broken, fallen down and in a ruinous state....
- (line 4:) and for the increase of the life and strength of *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Huviṣka*
- (line 5:) by the great general, the ..., the lord of ..., Śāu.e....
- (line 6:) and for the Brāhmaṇas, who are regular guests, will be made

The inscription is divided into two parts, the first ending with the words (*ta*)[lā]gaś c[a] (*da*)[tta]ḥ, 'and a tank was given'.

As proved by the concluding words, the first part mentioned several gifts which must have been enumerated in the preceding line 2. It is therefore probable that we have to supply *pratimā* after [*p*]itāmaha(*sya*), and that it was stated that an image of the grandfather of *mahārāja rājātirāja Huviṣka* was caused to be made. As remarked in the notes on the text (n. 1), *kulaṃ* in the beginning of line 2 has certainly to be restored as *devakulaṃ*. The donation therefore must have included a temple. But the temple mentioned here is obviously the same as the *devak(u)l[am]* which in line 3 is spoken of as having been in a ruinous state. It therefore cannot have been the real object of the inscription to record the erection of that temple; what is intended to record is

Sahni as *ba* can hardly be anything but *pā*, and it is followed by one letter only which is probably *ka*. Probably also the *akṣara* preceding *na* (see above) belongs to the word. To judge from the faint traces that are left of it, it may have been *ma*. We thus arrive at the reading (*ma*)na[pāka]patina, which may be some title, but it is hardly necessary to add that the reading is extremely doubtful.

¹ Sahni read: *Śāukre* ..., but the last sign is certainly not *kre*. All that can be said is that the letter certainly had an *e*-sign.

² Sahni: ...*syakas*... The first letter is *pa*, probably with the *u*-sign. The hook to the right of the *u*-sign seems to belong to the writing of the lower line. [It seems also probable that the whole *akṣara* was meant as *pya* with a tripartite *ya*; see below note 4.]

³ Sahni: *ṣyate*, but the *i*-sign is distinct.

⁴ The reading of the word is due to Sahni. I differ from him only in reading *ty[a]* instead of *tyi*. The *ā*-sign of *k[ā]* is doubtful. [Instead of *thi* the reading *thi* would be possible.] Here and in the following word, *bhya* is written with the tripartite *-ya* [as in [*nai*]ty[a] and probably in *kāriṣya(ti)* of the same line].

apparently the restoration of the temple by the great general, which must have been mentioned in the lost portion of the second part of the inscription, and the first part has to be taken as an introductory account of the construction of the temple and its belongings at an earlier time, the words *[ta]taś ca* being used in the sense of 'later on'.

Now there can be no doubt that the temple (*devakula*) and the tank (*talāga*) mentioned in our inscription (§99: L. 80c) are the same as the temple (*devakula*) and the tank (*puṣkarinī*) the construction of which by a *bakanapati* is recorded in the inscription §98: L. 80d; and as that inscription is incised on the statue of a Kuṣān king, it is almost certain, although it is not clearly stated, that the statue also belonged to the donation of the *bakanapati*. It is therefore tempting to identify that statue with the image of the grandfather of Huviṣka which in all probability was mentioned in our inscription together with the temple and the tank; and if we were sure that the statue represented Vima Kadphises, we might further conclude that he was the grandfather of Huviṣka. However, it must be borne in mind that, owing to the defectiveness of the records, this conclusion has been arrived at only by a combination of probabilities and that in particular the name of the king in the inscription §98: L. 80d cannot be relied on as long as the obscure *ta[kṣa]-masya* or, more probably, *ta[kṣu]masya* has not been explained.

Under these circumstances I consider it unnecessary to enter here into a discussion on the relations existing between the two Kadphises and Kanishka and his successors. Even if it were true that Kanishka was a king of the Little Yüe-chi and started his career from Khotan, as assumed by v. Staël-Holstein (SPAW 1914, p. 643ff.) and Konow (CII 2, 1, p. LXXVIf.), this would in my opinion not preclude the possibility of Huviṣka being a grandson of Vima Kadphises. On no account can I accept Sahni's suggestion that the grandfather of Huviṣka was Vājheṣka as I cannot agree with Banerji's theory of the identity of Kanishka and the king of that name mentioned in the Ārā inscription as the son of Vajheṣka (CII 2, 1, p. 162ff. No 85).

Unfortunately the first line of our inscription also affords no help in this respect. It contains three epithets of a king of which two, the first and the second, are unknown. The first is perhaps to be restored as (*kṣe*)*mak[a]ra*, but this is, of course, quite uncertain.

The second epithet, *satyadha(r)[m]asth[i]ta*, occurs in the coin legends of Kuṣūla Kadphises, where we find the exact counterpart in *Kuṣaṇasa yaūasa Kuṣūla Kapṣasa sacadhramathidasa* and a shortened form in *Kuṣūla Kasasa Kuṣaṇa yavugasa dhramathidasa*.¹ But the same

¹ Gardner, The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings... in the Brit. Mus., p. 123 + pl. 25, 5, p. 120ff. + pl. 25, 1—3, and Whitehead, Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Mus., Lahore, vol. 1, p. 178ff. + pl. 17. ASI Ann. Rep. 1914/15, 2. 1920, p. 33: *Kuṣaṇa yavūasa Kuṣūla Kapṣasa sa[ca]dhramathitasa* (No 39), ... *dhramathidasa Kuṣūla Kasasa [Kuṣaṇa yavūasa]* (No 35).

epithet is borne also by the Krorain ruler Amgoka. The Kharoṣṭhī document No 579¹ is dated *saṃvatsare 4 4 1 maharayarayatirayaṣa mahamtaṣa jayamtaṣa dharmiyaṣa sacadhamasthidaṣa | mahanuava maharaya amkvaḡa devaputraṣa ḥh'unaṃmi*, and the wording of the date of No 581¹ is materially the same.²

Under these circumstances it would be hazardous to conclude from the epithet of our inscription, *satyadharmasthita* (line 1), that the king mentioned in the first line was Kujūla Kadphises. The same epithet may have been borne also by Vima Kadphises or even by one of his successors.

A parallel of the third epithet, *nanayat-Sarva-Śca[m]ḍavirātisr-ṣtar[ā]jya-*, occurs in one of the Bhītā seals: *śrī-Vindhyabedhanamahārājasya Maheśvara-Mahāsenātisrṣtarājyasya Vṛṣadhvaḡasya Gautami-putrasya*.³ As remarked by Sahni,⁴ the symbols of the seal resemble those of the Andhra and Kṣatrapa dynasties, and the characters of the legend belong to the third or fourth century A.D. The legend was translated by Sahni: "Of the illustrious Mahārāja Gautamī-putra Vṛṣadhvaḡa, the penetrator of the Vindhyas,⁵ who had made over his kingdom to the Great Lord Kārttikeya". With regard to the appellation *Maheśvara-Mahāsenātisrṣtarājyasya* he says: "It seems to indicate that in ancient times there may have existed a pious custom, according to which rulers on the occasion of their accession entrusted their kingdom to their *iṣṭadevatā* and considered themselves as mere agents. Mahāsenā, to whom Vṛṣadhvaḡa made over his *rājya*, is the well known god Kārttikeya, a son of Śiva and Pārvatī; and the name Vṛṣadhvaḡa would seem to be only a second name assumed by the king on the occasion of his coronation in respect to the god Śiva." In support of his explanation Sahni refers to a similar ceremony which was actually performed by a Mahārāja of Travancore in the middle of the 10th century A.D. Nevertheless I am convinced that the compound is to be dissolved not as *Maheśvara-Mahāsenāyātisrṣtaṃ rājyaṃ yena*, but as *Maheśvara-Mahāsenābhyām atisrṣtaṃ rājyaṃ yasmai*.⁶ Maheśvara cannot be taken as qualifying Mahāsenā, as it is a typical name of Śiva and never applied to Kārttikeya. The meaning of the epithet would therefore be: 'on whom the kingdom was conferred by Maheśvara and Mahāsenā'.

¹ Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein, Pt 1. 1920 (Niya Site).

² Konow (CII 2, 1, p. LXXIV) is of the opinion that in these dates the year refers to a 'king of kings', who is different from the *mahārāja* Amgoka. I cannot agree with him. From the 'Tables of kings and regnal years', Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein, Pt 3. 1929, p. 326ff., it appears that the records of Amgoka as well as most of his successors Mahiri and Vaṣmana are dated in their own regnal years.

³ ASI Ann. Rep. 1911/12, 2. 1915, p. 50f. No 25.

⁴ [Cf. *ibid.*, p. 43 note 2.]

⁵ I prefer to take *Vindhyabedhana* as the name of the territory ruled over by Vṛṣadhvaḡa.

⁶ Cf. the classical example *upahṛtapaśū Rudraḡa*, Vārtt. 19 on Pāṇini 2, 2, 24.

A similar sense must certainly be looked for in *nanayat-Sarva-Śca[m]-davirātisr̥ṣṭar[ā]jya[sya]* of our inscription (line 1). Sahni, by ingeniously correcting *nanayat* to *-ānunayat*, arrived at the translation: "who had restored (their) kingdoms to fierce heroes when they entreated mercy," but this translation is unsatisfactory: *anunayat*, even if it should be correct, can hardly mean "entreating mercy"; *sarva* does not very well suit the context, whether it is taken as an adverb qualifying *ścāṇḍa* or as an adjective qualifying *ścāṇḍavira*; and *atisr̥j* does not convey the meaning of "restoring".

In my opinion *atisr̥ṣṭarājyasya* has to be taken here in the same sense as in the legend of the Bhiṭā seal, and we should therefore expect the preceding words to be the names of the deities to whom the king owed his dignity. Now, *Ścāṇḍavira* is apparently the same as *Caṇḍavira*, the name of a god mentioned in the Naipāliya-devatākalyāṇapañcaviṃśatikā.¹ The spelling of the name in the inscription is peculiar. The *ś* seems to have been added to *caṇḍa* in imitation of *ścandra* which occurs instead of *candra* as the second member of a compound name even in classical Sanskrit. At any rate, *ścāṇḍa* is not a mistake of the engraver. It is found again in *Ścaṇḍeśvarahastin*, the name of a Kulūta king in an inscription of the 4th century A. D. at Sālri near Salānu in the territory of Mandi.² There the *mahārāja* Ścaṇḍeśvarahastin is called the son of the *mahārāja* Īśvarahastin, and there can be no doubt that, just as Īśvara, Ścaṇḍeśvara also is a name of the god Śiva, probably in a special form. Kālidāsa calls the god in the Mahākāla temple at Ujjayinī: Caṇḍīśvara.³ Ścāṇḍavira/Caṇḍavira may have been a lesser deity, but his name sufficiently indicates that he belonged to the circle grouped round Śiva, Caṇḍa occurring as the name of Śiva himself,⁴ of Kārttikeya,⁵ of one of the servants of Śiva,⁶ and Caṇḍā or Caṇḍī being a common name of Śiva's consort Durgā.⁷

It is more difficult to account for the words preceding *Śca[m]davira*. They are probably to be divided into *nanayat* and *Sarva*, the latter being the name of Śiva which in this spelling is frequently found in the Mahābhārata and already in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa. Thus two gods, *Sarva* and *Caṇḍīśvara*, would be mentioned as the patrons of the king

¹ "May the divinities Hevajra, Samvara, Caṇḍavira [i. e. Caṇḍavira], Triloka-vira and Yogāmbara, with their train . . . be propitious to you"; Wilson, *Selected Works*, vol. 2, p. 24.

² ASI Ann. Rep. 1907/08. 1911, p. 265 + pl. 83, line 1—2. The reading *mahārāja-śri-Ścaṇḍeśvarahastinā* is quite distinct on the Plate.

³ Meghadūta 33, cf. ed. Hultsch, p. 19 with v. l. Caṇḍeśvara.

⁴ Mahābhārata, Calcutta ed., 12. 10358.

⁵ Mbh. 3, 14631.

⁶ Vyāḍi on Hemacandra, Abhidhānacintāmaṇi 210, cf. ed. Böhtlingk and Rieu, p. 312: Mahācaṇḍa.

⁷ See PW s. v. *Caṇḍa*.

just as two gods, Maheśvara and Mahāsena, were the patrons of King Vṛṣadhvaṇa.¹

As regards *nanayat*, I am inclined to accept in principle Sahni's explanation, but as *anunī* cannot well be said of the action of a god towards a man, I should prefer to correct *nanayat* to *anunayāt* (abl. sgl.) and to refer it to the king² [i. e. to read: **-sthitasyānunayāt Sarva-*].

Although it is impossible to establish with certainty the connection between the first and second lines, I consider it improbable that the inscription was dated and that the three epithets formed part of the date. It is far more likely that the genitives are dependent on (*deva*)-*kulaṃ* and that the temple was designated as the *devakula* of the king referred to in the first line. If this suggestion is accepted, the king can hardly be anybody but the grandfather of Huiṣka.³

If a building is called: the temple of a king, it would be natural to infer that the temple was founded by that king. But as in this case we know that the temple was erected not by a king, but by a *bakanapati*, the term can only mean that the temple was dedicated to the king or erected in his honour. Thanks to Mr. Jayaswal we are now able to understand the expression.

There can be little doubt that the *devakula* at the Māt site, similarly to Bhāsa's *devakula*,⁴ served chiefly as a hall for the statues of members of the royal Kuṣāṇ family, although, as proved by the life-size image found together with the Kaniṣka statue, images of gods were mixed up with them. In one respect, however, the collection of the Kuṣāṇ statues seems to have differed from the gallery described by Bhāsa. Bhāsa tells us that only deceased kings were honoured by setting up their images. This restriction does not seem to have prevailed in the case of the Kuṣāṇ *devakula*. The present inscription was engraved on the

¹ Perhaps Caṇḍīśvara is represented by the image two copies of which were found together with the portrait statues. Unfortunately in both cases only the lower half of the figure is preserved. The larger one was a male figure with a dwarf to the right and a lion on its back; cf. ASI Ann. Rep. 1911/12, 2. 1915, p. 125 + pl. 55, 9—10. The second torus is figured on pl. 56. Vogel compared the larger statue with the Bodhisattva statue of Sārnāth, which has a lion figure between his feet, and he thought that there, as in the present instance, the lion indicated that the statue represents Śākyasiṃha, the Lion among the Śākyas. The explanation is apparently correct as far as the Sārnāth image is concerned, but it leaves the dwarf of the Māt figure unexplained, and as the lion also appears here in quite different an attitude, the figure probably is meant for some deity.

² Mr. O. Hansen has suggested to me that *nanaya* might be the name of the goddess which on the coins of Kanerkes appears as *NANAIA* [cf. P. Gardner, The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings . . . , p. LXf.; p. 129 + pl. 26, 3], but in that case it would be difficult to account for the following *tsarva*.

³ This is also the opinion of Sahni, but on account of the intervening *devakulaṃ* it is impossible to join grammatically the genitives of the first line with *pitāmahasya*, as Sahni seems to do.

⁴ Cf. K. P. Jayaswal in: JBORS 5. 1919, p. 98f. (The Drama "The Statues" [Pratimānāṭaka] by Bhāsa [Act 3]); p. 511 (Chastana's Statue . . .).

pedestal of a statue, and we may reasonably assume that, in addition to the repair of the *devakula*, the gift of this statue was recorded in the inscription. The statue cannot have represented the grandfather of Huvīṣka, nor is it likely that it was a second image of Kaniṣka. As the donation was made for the increase of the life and strength of Huvīṣka, it becomes very probable that it represented that king, but that benedictory phrase shows at the same time that the statue was set up during the lifetime of Huvīṣka.

From the last line we learn that something was done 'for the Brāhmaṇas who were regular guests'. We are reminded at once of the Mathurā inscription of the year 28,¹ where it is laid down that at the *puṇyasālā* of the Prācinikas one hundred Brāhmaṇas were to be fed on the 14th day of the bright half of the month. Probably similar arrangements were made here in connection with the *sabhā* attached to the *devakula*. At any rate, the mentioning of provisions for Brāhmaṇas shows that the *devakula* had nothing to do with the Buddhist religion and favours my suggestion that the image accompanied by the lion and the dwarf (cf. above p. 144, note 1) does not represent the Bodhisattva, but a Brahmanical deity worshipped by the Kuṣān kings.

As regards the person to whom the repair of the temple and the other donations are due, we can gather from line 5 only that his name probably began with *Śāu.e*, and that he had the titles of (*mahāda*)*nda-nā[yaka]*- and perhaps, if our reading is correct, of (*ma*)*na[pāka]pati*.

⟨80e⟩

Facsimile: below p. 298

§ 100

K 91

Fragmentary inscription on a standing figure from the Tōkrī Tīlā near the village of Māt, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 212).

The image is a torso, the head, the arms, and the lower portions of the legs having disappeared. The dress consists of a tunic, which is adorned across the chest and along the lower border with a broad band in imitation of embroidery. The figure wears a thin torque round the neck and a beautiful belt formed by series of highly decorated plaques. A strap slung round the right hip evidently carried a sword, which hung down from the left thigh, and probably the figure clasped the hilt with the left hand. From what remains of the right leg, it appears that the figure wore top-boots. The inscription is engraved on the lower portion of the robe.

It was edited by Vogel, *Journal of the Panjab Hist. Soc.* 2. 1913°, p. 39ff. + pl., *Verslagen en Mededeelingen d. Kon. Akad. van Wetensch., Afd. Letterkunde*, 4, 12. 1914, p. 298 + pl. 3 showing the figure, ASI

¹ [Cf. above p. 136, n. 4.]

Ann. Rep. 1911/12, 1. 1914, p. 16, *ibid.*, 1911/12, 2. 1915, p. 125 + plate 55, 7—8 showing the front view and the back view of the statue. JBORS 5. 1919, p. 511, K. P. Jayaswal announced that Benoytosh Bhattachary[y]a had discovered the name of the satrap *Caṣṭana* in the inscription, and JBORS 6. 1920, p. 51—53, B. Bhattacharyya published his reading of the label with a plate showing the inscription in original size.

The statue is figured also by Bachhofer, *Frühind. Plastik/Early Ind. Sculpture* 1929, pl. 78 (r.), by Vogel, *Sculpture de Mathurā* 1930, pl. 3 (cf. p. 22), etc.

TEXT

Mastana . . .

This is Vogel's reading.

B. Bhattacharyya takes the first *akṣara* to be *ṣa*. He tells us that he had a great deal of doubt as to the identity of this letter, but that Dr. D. B. Spooner, Pandit Gaurīshankar Hīrāchand Ojhā, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Sāstrī, all endorsed his view in reading it as *ṣa*. I regret that even this galaxy of authorities cannot prevent my disbelief as I have never seen a *ṣa* of this period with the left vertical bent inward to such an extent as it would be here and with the horizontal middle bar rising to the right, the tendency since the Kuṣān times being on the contrary to convert it into a slanting line downward. In my opinion the letter cannot be anything but a *ma* of the transitional type between the *ma* of the Kuṣān period and the Northern Gupta *ma*.

The second *akṣara* appears to be *sta*, the slanting line crossing the vertical bar of the *sa*, being probably an accidental cut of the chisel and not meant for a vowel-sign.

The third *akṣara* is *na*.

After *na* there is a horizontal stroke a little above the writing line, which B. Bhattacharyya takes to be a stop line. To me this appears somewhat doubtful, the stop line being generally not put above, but in the middle of the writing line. Moreover, although the surface of the stone has splintered off almost immediately after that horizontal stroke, traces of what would seem to be lettering are visible below and after it. I consider it also unlikely that the statue should have been labelled with the bare name, and if for some reason no titles were added, why was the name placed on the right side of the statue and not in the middle? I therefore think that Vogel was right in calling the inscription fragmentary.

Under these circumstances the meaning of the three syllables remains uncertain. All that can be said is that they probably are part of the designation of the person represented by the statue and that this de-

signation was of foreign, probably Iranian, origin, which would agree with the style of the statue.

The three syllables can on no account represent the name of the *mahākṣatrapa* Caṣṭana, even if B. Bhattacharyya's reading *Ṣastana* should be accepted. In the inscriptions at Gūnda (List No 963), Junāgaḍh (List No 965; 966), and Gaḍha (List No 967) the name of the satrap is *Caṣṭana*, in the inscription at Andhau (List No 964a) *Cāṣṭana*. The legends on the coins are *Caṣṭanasa* in Brāhmī, *Caṭhanasa* in Kharoṣṭhī, *[CI]AST(A)NCA* in Greek characters.¹ Ptolemaeus (7, 1, 63) calls him *Τιαστενης*, *τια* being clearly an attempt to render *ca* in Greek letters.

There is not the slightest evidence for B. Bhattacharyya's assumption that the name was ever pronounced or spelt *Ṣastana*. How the alleged mispronunciation "*Cinivāsa*" instead of '*Srinivāsa*' can prove anything in this respect, I fail to see. Nor can it be of any consequence if some villagers pronounce the name of the village that really is *Belce* as *Belṣe*.

The identity of the statue with the satrap Caṣṭana, which B. Bhattacharyya declared to be absolutely certain, cannot be upheld neither from a linguistic nor from a palaeographical point of view.

⟨80f⟩

Facsimile: below p. 298

§ 101

K 92

In the Mathurā Museum there is a detached head with a conical cap (No 1252), which was obtained from the village of Māt and almost certainly belonged to the portrait statue of some Indo-Scythian prince set up in the *devakula* of that site.

The head with its inscription is figured in Vogel, *Sculpture de Mathurā* 1930, pl. 4a—b. The cap has a richly decorated border, apparently imitating a ribbon studded with precious stones, and on its right a monogram, in the original probably formed by gems being stitched on.

Just as the monogram on the cap of the Pālikhērā head (§ 127: L. 143 e), this also consists of three Brāhmī letters placed one below the other and interlaced. In this case the reading is distinctly

Nāyasa

As to the meaning of these monograms, I refer to the note on § 127: L. 143 e.

¹ E. J. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc.* (in the British Museum) 1908, p. 72—75.

2. From the Mound of Rāl-Bhaḍār

〈21b〉

Facsimile: below p. 298

§ 102

K 8

Inscription on the pedestal of the image of a Nāga, accompanied by two Nāgis¹ from the mound of Rāl-Bhaḍār (about 8 miles north-west of Mathurā), now in the Mathurā Museum (No 211).

The record is incised on the base below a group of worshippers consisting of five males, five females, and two boys. Y. R. Gupte states that on the upper rim of the pedestal also, beneath the feet of the deities, there were short inscriptions, now much defaced, which probably contained their names. But Mr. Agrawala doubts if the upper part was inscribed at all and considers the lines which are visible there to be parts of carving only.

The inscription was edited by Y. R. Gupte, Ep. Ind. 17. 1923/24, p. 10ff. with plates showing the image and the inscription.

TEXT

1 mahar[ā]jasya² rājatirājasya ṣahi³ Kaṇikkhasya⁴ sa⁵ 8 grī⁶ 4 di 5
2 as[y]a⁷ purv[v]āyam⁸ bhagavat[o]⁹ Bh[u]mo nāgasya¹⁰ pukṣiriṇi
aramo¹¹ ca pra[t]i-

¹ Y. R. Gupte states that the pedestal is mentioned Ann. Progr. Rep. of the ASI, Northern Circle, for the year 1908/09°. This publication is not accessible to me.

² Gupte: *mahārājasya*, but the *ha* has no *ā*-sign. The *ā*-sign of the third *akṣara* is doubtful, it may be read as *ra*.

³ Gupte: [*ṣāhi*]. The *ṣa* seems to have no *ā*-sign.

⁴ Gupte: *Kāṇikkhasya*. The first letter has no *ā*-sign and is distinctly *ka*.

⁵ As remarked by Gupte, the engraver first cut *sa*, but afterwards found out his mistake and deeply engraved only *sa*.

⁶ Gupte: *grī*. As often the *r*-sign is here combined with the *i*-sign.

⁷ Gupte: *as[yā]m*. The last *akṣara* is distinctly only *sa*.

⁸ Gupte: *p[ūrvv]āy[ā]m*. The subscript *-va* of *rv[v]ā* is probable. [For the *-v* which forms the middle part of the ligature, cf. the plate in Ep. Ind.]

⁹ Gupte: *bhagavataḥ*. The *o*-sign is a little blurred, but there is certainly no *visarga*.

¹⁰ Gupte reads: [*Bhūmi-nāga*]sya, but adds in a note: "There can be little doubt about the reading *Svāmi-nāgasya*". The reading of the name of the Nāga is difficult. The first sign seems to be *bha* with an *u*-sign attached to the lower part of the vertical. The second letter is distinctly *ma* with the *ā*-sign hanging down from the right bar of the letter, but probably the vertical stroke above the line which touches the left bar of the *mā* belongs to the letter, and the *akṣara* is really *mo*. A very similar *mo* occurs in *aramo* in the same line.

¹¹ Gupte: *ār[ā]mo*. There is a flaw in the stone at the top of the first *akṣara*, but it is improbable that it has caused the loss of the sign of length as the stroke denoting it is generally attached to the lower part of the vertical in the script of the Kuṣāṇ times. Therefore the letter is to be read as *a*.

3 [g](ra)ho¹ [t]ra[s](y)[a]² Māthurasya³ niyavaḍ[a]kisyā⁴
 sa(rv)[va]satahida[s](u)-
 4 (khaye)⁵

TRANSLATION

In the year 8 of *mahārāja rājātirāja śāhi* Kaṇikkha (*Kaniṣka*), in the 4th (month) of summer, on the 5th day, on this date, a tank and a garden (were caused to be made) for the holy Nāga Bhūmo (as) the donation of tra,² the *niyavaḍaki* of Mathurā, for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

The name of the Nāga, which is not quite certain, is apparently given in the nominative case. The term *niyavaḍaki* I cannot explain; it seems to be a title like *kālavāḍa*.⁶ In the "Additions and Corrections",⁷ H. Krishna Sastri proposed to take Niya as the name of the carpenter (*vaḍaki*) who made the gift. But this suggestion is not convincing.

13a

Facsimiles: below p. 299

§ 103

Fragmentary inscription on the sculptured pedestal of a seated Buddha figure from the mound of Rāl-Bhaḍār, now in the Mathurā Museum.

The inscription, which is engraved on the upper rim, was noticed by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 65 (A 71).

TEXT

Huviṣkasya⁸ [s](aṃ) 30 1 [he 4]⁹ d[i] 20 dana bh(i)[k](ṣu)niy[e]¹⁰ Dinnaye
 ant(e)vāsinin[aṃ] Khudāye [Gra]..///

¹ Gupte: *pra[t]i[ś]hāpito*, but the second *akṣara* of the third line is undoubtedly *ho* and the first letter, which has become nearly illegible, was apparently, as suggested by Konow, *gra*. [What is to be seen of this *akṣara* in the impressions may be taken as the right part of *ga*.]

² Gupte: . . . *putras*[y]a. The reading *pu* is not warranted[, but the reading of only the *mātrkā* as *p*. seems not impossible].

³ Gupte: . . . *ṭrasya*. The reading given above is certain.

⁴ Gupte: *niya*[mada]kisyā, for which *niyavaḍakisya* was suggested by H. Krishna Sastri in the "Additions and Corrections" (cf. below note 7). The third *akṣara* is undoubtedly *va*, the following letter may have been *ḍu*.

⁵ Gupte reads: *[sarva]sat[v]a hi(hita)-su(sukhārtham)* and remarks: "*Hi* and *su* at the end of the third line stand for *hita-sukhārtham*. This abbreviation is due to want of space". The last but one letter of the third line is clearly *da* and the following *sa*, although a little blurred, is quite distinct. The last two *akṣaras* stood apparently below *sa(rv)[va]*- of line 3, but they are quite obliterated.

⁶ [Cf. Lüders' Remarks in his edition of No 14a, 94, 103, Ep. Ind. 24. 1937/38, p. 200ff. as No 2, 3, 4, resp. (= § 114, § 18, § 19 of the present work).]

⁷ Ep. Ind. 17. 1923/24, p. VII.

⁸ Mr. Dikshit states that there is nothing lost before the word *Huviṣkasya*.

⁹ The reading *he 4* is rather uncertain.

¹⁰ The first two *akṣaras* are uncertain. The third letter is perhaps *ni*.

TRANSLATION

In the year 31 of Huvīṣka, in the 4th (month) of winter (?), on the 20th day, the gift of Khuḍā (and) the female pupils of the nun Dinnā (*Dattā*).

13b

Facsimile: below p. 299

§ 104

Inscription on a sculpture representing the corpulent figures of a man and a woman seated in front side by side, from Rāl-Bhaḍār, now in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription is engraved on the proper left side of the base of the sculpture. The other side of the base is destroyed.

The inscription was edited by Vogel, *Cat. Mus. Math.* 1910, p. 92 (C 28). He referred to it *ASI Ann. Rep.* 1909/10, 2. 1914, p. 77.

TEXT

- 1 priyatām
2 Sidha[h]¹

TRANSLATION

May the Siddha be pleased.

The words appear to be only the concluding formula of a donative inscription which was engraved on the lost side of the base. There can be little doubt that the term *sidha* (*siddha*) refers to the male person represented in the sculpture, and it is to be regretted that the mutilated state of the figure does not allow us to determine the character of the deity denoted here by *si(d)dha*.

3. Koṭā Mound

Koṭā is a small village, about 3 miles to the north of Mathurā. When Cunningham² visited the place on his tour in 1882/83, he discovered there a number of antiquities, among them 16 railing pillars, all originating from a long mound to the north of the *kund* of the village. A list of the antiquities is given in *ASI [Ann.] Rep.* 20. 1885, p. 50—52.

Seven of the railing pillars are at present in the Mathurā Museum (J 56—62).³ They bear no dedicatory inscriptions, but on the reverse of the pillar J 58, which is carved with two full and two half lotus ro-

¹ The *visarga* is not quite certain.

² Cf. *ASI [Ann.] Rep.* 20. 1885, p. 49—52.

³ Cf. Vogel, *Cat. Mus. Math.* 1910, p. 153—155.

settes, there are two signs above the upper half rosette which will be discussed below (§105: L. 15a).

There is nothing in the finds of the Koṭā mound to indicate the nature of the sanctuary to which the railing pillars belonged, and only for general reasons we may surmise that it was a Buddhist Stūpa. From the pillar J 56, which shows a male figure in the typical Indo-Scythian dress, it can be inferred that the railing was erected in the Kuṣān period and a pedestal, which was found in the mound and bears an inscription (§106: L. 15) in Kuṣān characters, points to the same time.

15a

Facsimile: below p. 299

§ 105

Concerning the two signs on the reverse of the railing pillar J 58 from the Koṭā mound, Vogel (Cat. Mus. Math. p. 154) speaks of two figures reversed which he doubtfully read as 48 and which he took to be the serial number of the pillar. I can discover no similarity between the signs and the numerical characters, and it is not unlikely that there was some more writing which is now sadly defaced.

As we know from several inscriptions¹ that the sculptors sometimes signed their works with their names or with the initials of their names, I should prefer to look at the writing as the sculptor's signature, although, considering the bad preservation of the letters and the possibility that they have to be taken as reversed, it will be a hopeless task to decipher them. At any rate, I think it would be premature to draw from those signs any conclusions as to the number of the railing pillars.

15

Facsimile: below p. 299

§ 106

Fragmentary inscription on the pedestal of a statue from the Koṭā mound, now in the Mathurā Museum.

A facsimile of the inscription was published by Cunningham, ASI [Ann.] Rep. 20. 1885, pl. 5, 2, and Vogel gave his reading in Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 122 (G 43).

TEXT

Jayadevaputrena Ghoṣena///

TRANSLATION

By Ghoṣa, the son of Jayadeva . . .

¹ [Cf. below, Index of Miscellaneous Terms, — Sculptor's names, and Sculptor's marks.]

4. From the Brindāban Road

41a

Facsimile: below p. 299

§ 107

K 37

⟨¹ Inscription on the base of a male figure clad in Indo-Scythian dress. Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 110 (E 25) stated that the statue was found in a *bagīcā* on the Brindāban road about 1½ miles from Mathurā.

The following transcript of the author has been taken from his treatment of the record in Ep. Ind. 24. 1937/38. 1942, p. 207f. No 6.)

TEXT

- 1 sa[va]tsarā 70 2 h(emantamā)s(e) pratha(me)
2 ṛṇasya pra(timā)

5. From Ghosnā

Facsimiles: below p. 300

Ś 14

Four inscriptions on bricks and brickbats from Ghosnā (about 3½ miles to the east of the City of Mathurā), now in the Mathurā Museum (No 1678; 1679; 1680; 651).

§ 108

⟨102c⟩ (No 1678)

TEXT

Ānadap[u]tasa² Nāgadat[as]a + ³

TRANSLATION

Of Nāgadatta (*Nāgadatta*), the son of Ānada² (*Ānanda*).

§ 109

⟨102d⟩ (No 1679)

TEXT

Nāgadate[na]⁴ m[ā]tu⁵ da[tā]

¹ [Cf. above Preface p. 9 with notes.]

² [Apparently Lüders took the dot above the second *akṣara* to be accidental; otherwise we would have to read: *Ānaṃdap[u]tasa*.]

³ There is a sign after the name, which is probably no letter, but a *maṇḍala* symbol [i. e. a *svastika*].

⁴ The bottom-line of the last *akṣara* is damaged, but the reading *na* is confirmed by that of § 110: L. (102e).

⁵ The *ā*-sign of *mā* is faintly visible in the impression.

§ 110

<102e> (No 1680)

[N]ā[g]adatena māt(u)¹ datā

TRANSLATION

Given by Nāgadata (*Nāgadatta*) (and his) (?) mother.

The inscriptions §109: L.102d and §110: L.102e are made with the same die. *Nāgadata* is certainly identical with the person of that name mentioned in §108: L.102c. I admit that my explanation of *mātu* as equivalent to the instrumental case, which makes it necessary to supply *ca* after it, is not satisfactory. Perhaps the inscription recorded that the building for which the bricks were used, whatever it may have been, was given by Nāgadat(t)a to his mother.

§ 111

<102e2> (No 651)

TEXT

Vasagut[a]²///

TRANSLATION

Vasaguta (*Vṛṣagupta*?)

The name is apparently the beginning of a longer dedicatory inscription.

6. From Saknā

14c*

§ 112

Fragmentary inscription on the base of a female figure of which only the feet remain, from the village of Saknā (about 3 miles west of Gaṇēśhrā and 6 miles west of Mathurā), now in the Mathurā Museum.

The inscription was edited by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 123 (G 47).

TEXT

1 [tha]vaṣariṣāmāse³2 [t]vāna hitasūkhā⁴

¹ The *u*-sign of the last *akṣara* is destroyed, but the reading *tu* is confirmed by that of §109: L. <102d>.

² There was no writing before *va*.

³ Of the first *akṣara* only the right half is preserved and the reading is uncertain. There is a stroke to the left of the *va*, which is probably not the *e*-sign, but accidental. The third letter is certainly *ṣa*, not *ṣo* as read by Vogel.

⁴ Vogel: *tvāna hitasūkhā[rtham]*, but the signs of *-ā* and *-ū* are quite distinct. Restore: (*sarvasa*) [*t*]vāna hitasūkhā (*rtham*).

TRANSLATION

... for the welfare and happiness of (all sentient) beings... .

I am unable to explain the words of the first line. One would naturally take *māse* as the locative of *māsa* and as part of the date. In that case we should expect that the word before it was either the name of the month or a numeral indicating the date of the year, but I fail to see how the words can be interpreted in either way.

7. Mōrā

14

Facsimile: below p. 301

§ 113

Kṣa 4

⟨¹ “Mōrā Well Inscription.” The slab bearing the record is now in the Mathurā Museum (Q 1).

The following transcript of the author has been taken from his treatment of the inscription in Ep. Ind. 24, 1937/38. 1942, p. 194—200 No 1.⟩

TEXT

- 1 + mahakṣatrapasa Rājūvulasa putrasa svāmi(sa mahakṣatrapasa)
- 2 bhagavatām Vṛṣṇinā(m) paṃcavirāṇām pratimā[h] śailadeva-gr(he)
- 3 ya[s]=To[śā]yāh śailam śrīmad-grham=atulam=udadhasamadhāra
- 4 ārcādesām śailām paṃca jvalata iva paramavapuṣā

14a

Facsimile: below p. 300

§ 114

⟨¹ Inscription on the pedestal of a female statue from Mōrā, now in the Mathurā Museum (E 20).

The following transcript of the author has been taken from his treatment of the inscription in Ep. Ind. 24, 1937/38. 1942, p. 200—202 No 2.⟩

TEXT

- 1 ... (mahārāja)sya Kan(i)[ś]ka[sya] (saṃvatsa)[r](e)
- (grīṣma)[m](āse)
- 2 ... etasya purvaye M[āth]uri kalavaḍ[ā] o[ḍakh]i ..
- 3 ... ye Tośāye patimā (pratis)t(āpitā)

¹ [Cf. above Preface p. 9 with notes.]

<82a>

Facsimile: below p. 302

§ 115

Kṣa 3

<¹ Inscription on a door-jamb from Mōrā, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 367).

The following transcript of the author has been taken from his treatment of the record in Ep. Ind. 24, 1937/38. 1942, p. 208—210 No 7.>

TEXT

- 1 (s)[v](āmisya mahākṣatrapasya Śoḍā-)
- 2 sa[s]ya (. . . di-)
- 3 [vas](e) (.)
- 4 [p] . . . [ṇa] Śi[v]a (.)
- 5 ṣapu[t]r[e]ṇa Kauśi(kiputreṇa)
- 6 Vasunā bhaga[va](to Vāsude-)
- 7 vasya mahāsthāna (. śai-)
- 8 laṃ toraṇaṃ ve(dikā ca prati-)
- 9 ṣṭhāpito prīto [bha](gavān Vāsu-)
- 10 devaḥ svāmi[sya] (mahākṣatra-)
- 11 pasya Śoḍā[sa](sya)
- 12 saṃvartayatām

<14aa>

Facsimile: below p. 302

§ 116

3rd cent. B.C.

Inscription on very large bricks discovered at Mōrā, now in the Mathurā Museum. The complete legend was obtained from the different fragments.²

It was edited by Vogel, JRAS 1912, p. 120 + pl. 2, 1, and ASI Ann. Rep. 1911/12, 2. 1915, p. 128 + pl. 58, 16. He referred to them also in Sculpture de Mathurā 1930, p. 18. [The record was published by Lüders, Ep. Ind. 24, 1937/38. 1942, p. 199 with note 2.]

TEXT

jivaputāye rājabharyāye Brahāsvātimita(dh)[i]tu³ Yaśamatāye kārīta[m]

¹ [Cf. above Preface p. 9 with notes. — Based on his reading and interpretation of the record Lüders, op. cit. p. 210, thought "it not improbable that the pillar bearing the present inscription hails from the Bhāgavata temple at Mōrā".]

² [Our collection contains now only the impression of one brick (A). Putting the damaged *akṣaras* in brackets the inscription on brick A yields the following transcript: *jivaputāye rājabh[aryā]ye Brahāsvātimita(dh)[i]tu [Yaśam]atāye kārīta[m].*]

³ The first letter is apparently *bra*, not *br* or *bri*, as read by Vogel. The last but one *akṣara* is destroyed by the breaking of the brick, but the *i*-sign is partly preserved and Vogel's reading *dhi* may be called certain.

TRANSLATION

Caused to be made by Yaśamatā, the king's consort, whose son is living, the daughter of Brahāsvātimita (*Bṛhatsvātimitra*).

The epithet *jīva-putrā* is found also in List No 943, 944, 1126. Brahāsvātimita has been identified by Vogel with Bahasatimita whose coins have been found at Kōsam and Rāmnagar.¹ On account of the characters the inscription has to be assigned to the 3rd century B.C.

8. Gaṇēshrā

Several finds made in the neighbourhood of Gaṇēshrā (Gaṇēśvara), a village situated some three miles west of Mathurā City to the north of the road to Gōvardhan, have proved already long ago that the site must have been occupied by a Buddhist sanctuary in the time of the Kuṣāns.

Führer obtained there the life-size statue of a standing Bodhisattva, which is now in the Lucknow Museum, and the beautiful image of a seated Bodhisattva preserved in the Mathurā Museum (A 45) was found in a well near the village.² Both images belong to the Kuṣān period.

In 1908 Pandit Radha Krishna had the ancient tanks at Sitōhā and Gaṇēshrā cleared. From the Gaṇēshrā tank alone he obtained no less than 62 pieces of sculpture, the oldest of which can be designed to the time of the Kuṣān rule.³

To the same time belongs the pedestal of the portrait statue of some foreigner which bears the inscription § 119: L. 14d. It was acquired from a Koli, who is said to have obtained it from a Brahman's house in the village, but it is hardly necessary to remark that even if that statement should be correct, there is no proof that the statue originally was set up at the site of Gaṇēshrā.

On the other hand we know that a Buddhist sanctuary at Gaṇēshrā was under favour of the foreign rulers of Mathurā. There are three distinct mounds in the vicinity of the village. When Pandit Radha Krishna examined them in the winter 1911/12,⁴ he found in one of them a stone

¹ Smith, Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Oxford 1906), p. 146, 155, 185.

² The standing image is figured in: V. A. Smith, Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā 1901, p. 87; Vogel, Sculpture de Mathurā 1930, p. 43, pl. 35b; — the seated image: *ibid.*, p. 42, pl. 33a; ASI Ann. Rep. 1909/10, 2. 1914, p. 69, pl. 23d; Codrington, Ancient India 1926, p. 44; Bachhofer, Frühind. Plastik/Early Indian Sculpture 1929, p. 107, pl. 85 (r.); Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 57 + pl. 10; etc.

³ Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 200.

⁴ Cf. the reports of the excavations by Vogel, JRAS 1912, p. 121—123, and ASI Ann. Rep. 1911/12, 2. 1915, p. 128—130.

with an inscription in Kṣatrapa characters (§ 118: L. 14d 3) which records the erection of a Stūpa by the female relative of some Kṣatrapa. A Buddhist sanctuary therefore must have existed at the site already before the Kuṣān period. It is probably much older, for the same mound produced a number of bricks with inscriptions (§ 120: L. 14d 1) which show that a building was erected by the minister of a Hindu king of the Śuṅga period.

The mound nearest to the village also yielded numerous fragments of sandstone sculptures which appear to have belonged to a railing of very small dimensions. On one of the stones there is a fragmentary inscription in characters of the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. (§ 117: L. 14d 2), which proves that there must have been another sanctuary on the spot, though it cannot be decided whether it was Buddhist or Hindu.

⟨14d 2⟩

Facsimile: below p. 302

§ 117

Fragmentary inscription on a piece of sandstone evidently belonging to a small railing from the mound nearest to the village of Gaṇēshrā, now in the Mathurā Museum.

The inscription was edited by Vogel, JRAS 1912, p. 121, and by Agrawala, JUPHS 10. 1937, p. 4 No 7a

TEXT

///bhagavaprasādā¹///

TRANSLATION

... gifts to the holy one ...

The characters are of the third or second century B. C.

⟨14d 3⟩

Facsimile: below p. 303

§ 118

Fragmentary inscription on a rounded piece of red sandstone found in the second of the Gaṇēshrā mounds, now in the Mathurā Museum.

The inscription was edited by Vogel, JRAS 1912, p. 121f. + pl. 2, 2 and ASI Ann. Rep. 1911/12, 2. 1915, p. 128f. + pl. 58, 17.

¹ Agrawala: -*prasāda*, but the ā-sign of *dā* is distinct.

TEXT

- 1 ///.r...sa¹ kṣaharātasa Ghaṭākasa ///
- 2 ///..ye thupa pa[t]i²///

TRANSLATION

... the Stūpa was erected by (some female relative) ... of (*kṣat*)*r(apa)* *kṣaharāta* Ghaṭāka ...

Kṣaharāta seems to be not the name of a clan, as generally assumed, but a title. It is strange that *thupa* shows no case-ending; perhaps it is the equivalent of Sk. *stūpa*.

Judging from the characters, the inscription would seem to date from the time of the Saka rulers of Mathurā.

14d

Facsimile: below p. 303

§ 119

<³ Inscription on the pedestal of a standing figure of which only the feet, apparently shod, remain; from Gaṇēśhrā, now in the Mathurā Museum (G 42).

The following transcript of the author has been taken from his treatment of the record in Ep. Ind. 24, 1937/38. 1942, p. 206f. No 5.>

TEXT

- 1 maha[daṃḍa]nā[yakasya] yamaṣa-
- 2 [heka]s[y]a [v]iś[v]a[saka]sya Ulānāsya paṭimā

<14d 1>

Facsimiles: below p. 304

§ 120

Inscriptions on 26⁴ bricks and brickbats from the second Gaṇēśhrā mound, now in the Mathurā Museum.

They were published by Vogel, JRAS 1912, p. 122f. + pl. 2,3 (representing Vogel's No a and b) and 2,4 (No n, o and r), and again, in a more explicit form, ASI Ann. Rep. 1911/12, 2. 1915, p. 129f. (No a—v) + pl. 58, 18 (No b). He referred to them also in Sculpture de Mathurā 1930, p. 18f.

¹ Restore: (*kṣat*)*r(apa)*sa.

² Vogel: *pati*. Probably to be restored to *pa[t]i(ṭhāpita)*.

³ [Cf. above Preface p. 9 with notes.]

⁴ [Lüders enumerated only 25 inscriptions omitting Vogel's No n (= 19b) which is figured in the JRAS pl. 2,4.]

[A]	1	(Vogel a)	Rohadevasa ¹ Kohaḍas[a]
	2	(Vogel b)	Rohadevasa Kohaḍa[sa]
	3	(Vogel d)	.. ha[de]vasa Koha[ḍa]sa
	4	(Vogel f) sa Kohaḍasa
	5	(Vogel h)	Kohaḍasa ²
	6	(Vogel j)	Rohade ³
	7	(Vogel e)	Kohaḍasa Rohadevasa
	8	(Vogel g)	Kohaḍasa Ro[ha]
	9	(Vogel c)	[K]ohaḍasa Rohade[va] ..
	10	(Vogel i)	Kohaḍasa ⁴
	11	(Vogel k)	Ko[ha]
[B]	12	(Vogel l)	Gom ⁵
	13	(Vogel r)	Gomi ⁵
	14	(Vogel m)	Gom[i]tasa amace ..
	15	(omitted by Vogel) tasa [a]ma[ce] ..
	16	(omitted by Vogel) sa ⁶
	17	(Vogel s)	[Go]m[ita] ..
	18	(Vogel o)	Gomitā
	19[a]	(omitted by Vogel)	.. mitāma[c]...
	<19 b	(Vogel n)	.. mitāmacena>
	20	(Vogel q) macena
	21	(Vogel u) [c]ena R. [ha]
	22	(Vogel v) cena Kohaḍe[na]
	23	(Vogel p) [na] kāritaṃ ⁷
	24	(Vogel t)	.. ritaṃ ⁸
[[C]]	25	(omitted by Vogel)	rāño

From this list it appears that there were two types of inscriptions, a shorter one (cf. 1—11) [A] and a larger one (cf. 12—24) [B].

TEXT

A *Rohadevasa Kohaḍasa* or: *Kohaḍasa Rohadevasa*

TRANSLATION

Of Rohadeva, the Kohaḍa (*Kauhaḍa*) or: Of the Kohaḍa Rohadeva.

TEXT

B *Gomitasa amacena* (or: *Gomitāmacena*) *Rohadevena Kohaḍena* (or: *Kohaḍena Rohadevena* or, possibly, only: *Rohadevena*) *kāritaṃ*

¹ [In the impression there is a small horizontal stroke above the *sa*.]

² At the end of the brick.

³ Vogel omits *de*, but it is distinct.

⁴ There was no writing before *ko*.

⁵ There was no writing before *go*.

⁶ According to Mr. Agrawala the reading *Gomitasa a* is probable.

⁷ There was no writing after *kāritaṃ*.

⁸ There was no writing after *ritaṃ*.

TRANSLATION

Caused to be made by Rohadeva, the Kohaḍa (or: by the Kohaḍa Rohadeva or, possibly only: by Rohadeva), the minister of Gomita (*Gomitra*).

As is shown by the inscription on the brick No 25, there seems to have been a third version of the longer inscription [B], where

rāṇo

of the king

was added to the name *Gomitasa*.

I am convinced that Vogel was right in identifying the *rājan* Gomita with the Gomita, or Gomitra, whose coins have been found at Mathurā,¹ but I cannot agree with him when he speaks of "Kohaḍa, ministre de Gomita". The personal name of the minister was undoubtedly Rohadeva and Kohaḍa, representing Sk. *Kauhaḍa*, was his patronymic.

Kohaḍa as a personal name occurs in the *gaṇa Śivādayaḥ* in Pāṇini 4, 1, 112. According to that rule the patronymic is *Kauhaḍa*, whereas the *yuvan* is called *Kauhaḍi*, as is expressly stated in the Kāśikā on Pāṇ. 2, 4, 58.

In the Mahābhārata (Calcutta ed.) *Kohala* occurs as the name of a Brahmanical Ṛṣi (cf. 1, 2049; 13, 6271; 7671). *Kohala*, of course, is only the later spelling for *Kohala* = *Kohaḍa*. In the Śāradā manuscript of the Ādiparvan, the old form *Kohaḍa* is preserved and has been wrongly replaced by *Kahoḍa* in the Critical Edition (1, 48, 9).²

But *Kohaḍa* or *Kohala* was at all times a widely spread name. It is the name of several authors; the Vedic school of the Kauhaliyas is mentioned Gobhila-Gr̥hyasūtra 3, 4, 34, and Kauhālīputra is quoted as an authority on phonetics in the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya (17,2).

9. From Naugavā

14b

Facsimile: below p. 305

§ 121

Fragmentary inscription in three lines on the pedestal of a seated Buddha image of which only the left foot together with the drapery below the legs is preserved. The first lines are engraved on the upper rim, the third line on the lower rim of the pedestal. The pedestal, which is now in the Mathurā Museum, was obtained by Pandit Radha Krishna

¹ V. A. Smith, Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Oxford 1906), p. 190, p. 194.

² Ed. V. S. Sukthankar, Vol. 1 (1933).

from the village of Naugavā, 4½ miles south-west of Mathurā City, south of the Gōvardhan road.

The inscription was edited by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 60 (A 50).

TEXT

- 1 [bhikṣ](u)s[y]a Dharmahastika ..¹///
 2 vihāre ..²///
 3 [p](r)[a]tim[ā]³ p[r]atīṣ[th]ap(i)[ta]⁴///

TRANSLATION

... of the monk Dharmahastika at the *vihāra* an image . . .
 . . . was set up.

10. Giridharpur Mounds

Giridharpur is a village situated about 3 miles west-south-west of Mathurā City. In 1874 Growse said⁵: "Within the borders of Giridharpur may be traced a very extensive tank, now converted into ploughed fields, with a series of mounds all round its margin. These are unquestionably Buddhist Stūpas, and will be examined. They are covered with small fragments of carved stone, indicating that here destruction was more than usually complete, and that the images were not only thrown down but deliberately broken to pieces."

Only few sculptures seem to have been recovered from the Giridharpur mounds since that time, among them being the stones bearing the inscriptions §122: L. 91d and §123: L. 77a. The inscriptions allow us to determine the age of the buildings that once occupied the site, §122: L. 91d being written in the alphabet of the pre-Kuṣān period, whereas §123: L. 77a and §124: L. 92c show the characters of the early Kuṣān times, but they are unfortunately so much damaged as to throw no light on the nature of those buildings. Nor can the relief with the figure of a Nāgī, standing between two warriors armed with spears,⁶ prove much in this respect, as it was not found in one of the mounds at Giridharpur, but in a *bagicā* near the village.

¹ This portion of the inscription was not read by Vogel. The reading of the first word is not certain.

² There was probably some more writing after *vihāre*, but it is entirely effaced. [After the word there is a dot in the middle of the line.]

³ The *ā*-stroke of *mā* is attached to the bottom-line of the letter. [Cf. above p. 89, n. 7.]

⁴ [The second member of the third *akṣara* is preserved only in its upper part, but the dot distinguishing *tha* from *ṭha* seems to be indicated.] The vowel-signs are uncertain, but *ṣtha* and *ta* are more probable than *ṣthā* and *tā*.

⁵ Growse, Mathurā¹ 1874 Pt 1, p. 106.

⁶ The relief is now preserved in the Mathurā Museum; cf. Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 116 (F 32).

<91d>

Facsimile: below p. 306

§ 122

Kṣa 27

Fragmentary inscription on a broken lintel from the Giridharpur Ṭilā, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 1317).

TEXT

Goḷāśvastasya¹ Buddhayaśasya vāy.///

TRANSLATION

Of Goḷāśvasta Buddhayaśa (*Buddhayaśas*)

The meaning of the strange term Goḷāśvasta is unknown to me.

<77a>

Facsimile: below p. 305

§ 123

Kṣa 8

Fragmentary inscription² on a round object from the Giridharpur Ṭilā, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 1315). The proper left side of the stone is lost. The writing and the age of the inscription have been discussed above p. 161.

TEXT

- 1 varṣ[a]³
- 2 mahārājasya 200 70 bh[ū]⁴///
- 3 Gotamiye balānā[s].⁵///
- 4 tu [mā]⁶

¹ Judging from the back of the impression, there seems to have been no writing before *go* and the short vertical stroke at the top of *sta* is accidental.

² [As an exceptional case in the Manuscript, the treatment of this inscription is written by typewriter with some handwritten corrections of the author who later on crossed out the transcript and the notes attached to it (see below note 3 ff.). The revised version of these parts of this article is missing in the Manuscript.]

³ The word which seems to belong to the date has apparently been added afterwards.

⁴ The vowel-sign may have been *-u* or *-ū*. [The reading *bhū* seems to be more probable as in one of the two impressions of our collection two horizontal strokes, one below the other, are to be seen attached to the right bar of the *bha*.]

⁵ The letter following *nā* may have been *śya* or *sa*, but this is not quite certain.

⁶ Perhaps *tu* [mā] was followed by another *akṣara* which is now illegible. The two or three letters [written closely above the first *akṣaras* of the fifth line] seem to have been inserted afterwards. [In the impressions the bottom-line of the second letter read as *ma* is not visible and the supposed *ā*-sign is hanging almost straight down from the right arm of the letter. — Meant as: *mātu* ?]

- 5 baladhikāśya¹ bh[ū]²///
 6 bhāryaye dānaṃ sa[r]va³///
 7 [dha]pūcaye⁴ sap[itu]m[adu] ..⁵///

It is impossible to offer a coherent translation of the inscription. Probably *varṣ[a]* is meant to be inserted either before or after the numerical figures. At any rate the inscription is dated in the year 270 of the Mahārāja. The era used here is undoubtedly the same as that used in the Mathurā inscription List No 78 which is dated 'in the year 299 of the *mahārāja rājātirāja*'. As to the possible beginning of this era, I refer to my remarks on No 78.⁶

Our inscription records the gift of a lady who is called Gotamī (*Gautamī*), and the wife of some person who is styled as *baladhika*, evidently an imperfect writing for *balādhika*. Possibly *baladhika* is the same military title which appears in the form of *valādhikṛta* in the Shāhpur inscription (CII 3, No 43 with p. 210, 2),⁷ or it may stand for the more common title *balādhyaḥśa*. The name of the *baladhika* of our inscription is lost with exception of the first letter which probably was *bhū*. The words between *Gotamiye* and *baladhikāśya* must belong to the further description of the donatrix. Perhaps we may restore *balānā* in line 3 as *balānā[s](ya dhi)* and combine the restored *dhi* with the *tu* in the next inserted line as *(dhi)tu*, although in this way the *[mā]* after the *tu* would be left unexplained. *Balāna* would be the true Saka equivalent of the Iranian name *Vardāna* which as *Valāna* and *Ulāna* occurs also in records of the Kuṣān time.

¹ [The two vertical strokes rising at either end of the horizontal bar of the *ka* are perhaps only accidental flaws. At the lower part of the vertical bar of the *akṣara* in question there is a short but distinct stroke slanting down to the left.]

² The letter was possibly *bhū*. [The lower part of the vertical of the *bha* is not quite straight, but slightly turned to the right the *u*-sign rising at right angles. The other vowel-sign denoting the length of the *-u* is written as in the *bhū* of the second line; cf. above p. 162, n. 4. These parts of the letter are connected by a vertical bar which seems to be accidental. Below the *akṣara* a sign resembling a *ta* seems to be written the upper part of which touches the *bhū*.]

³ The *r*-sign is uncertain.

⁴ The reading of the first *akṣara* is uncertain [as it is written in its left part not as a semicircle like in the *dhi* of line 5, but almost as a rectangular. It seems not impossible that the engraver intended at first to write a *ba*, but taking notice of his fault he finished the *akṣara* as *dha*. — To be read as: (*bu**)*dha*?]

⁵ [The *sa* is hanging above the line, inclined to the left; cf. the *sa* in l. 6.] Of the next four letters only the *ma* is certain. [The *i*-sign of *p[i]* is only faintly visible and crossed by a flaw. The *mātrkā* of the *[du]* is to be compared with the *da* in *dānaṃ* the lower part of which having disappeared by a long vertical cut. The sign following the *[du]* consists of two broad parallel strokes connected by a curved line which seems to be accidental.]

⁶ [The Manuscript does not contain the treatment of the inscription List No 78.]

⁷ The expression *mahāvalādhikṛta* occurs in the Majhgavām Copper-plates, CII 3, p. 106ff. No 23 + pl. 14 (line 20), and in the Khōh Copper-plates, CII 3, p. 125ff. No 28 + pl. 18 (line 31), p. 132ff. No 30 + pl. 19B (line 13).

If the suggested restoration should be correct, it would follow that the donatrix was of Saka descent which at first sight would seem incompatible with her designation as Gotamī. But Gotamī needs not necessarily be taken as an epithet characterizing her as belonging to the Brahmanical *gotra* of the Gautamas. Among the Buddhists Gotamī appears to have been used also as a personal name in remembrance of the foster mother of the Buddha. As such it occurs e.g. in the Sāñcī inscription List No 623 which records a gift of the nun Gotamī. Unfortunately this explanation also is uncertain, as the object of the gift cannot be made out, and we do not know whether the donatrix was an adherent of the Buddhist creed.

Assuming that *pūcaye* is a clerical error for *pūjāye* and that the next word begins with *sapitu*, the words of the last line may perhaps be translated:

for the worship of . . . (in honour) of her father and mother.

⟨92c⟩

Facsimile: below p. 305

§ 124

K 83

Fragmentary inscription on the pedestal of a slab showing a Nāgī and a male figure with a spear in his left hand and the right raised in *abhayamudrā*, from the Giridharpur Tīlā, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 1316).

TEXT

///[s](ya) prāvārika[s](ya)¹///

TRANSLATION

... of the cloakmaker ...

11. Pālikherā

The mound at Pālikherā, a village situated about three miles southwest of the Kaṭrā, must have been the site of a Buddhist sanctuary of considerable importance.

In the winter of 1873/74 Growse discovered here the famous 'Bacchanalian group', the companions of Colonel Stacy's 'Silenus'.²

In 1915/16 trial excavations, undertaken by Pandit Radha Krishna, resulted in unearthing the stone-bowl with the inscription § 125: L. 143d,

¹ The *akṣaras* read as *sya* are uncertain.

² Growse, Mathurā² 1880, p. 155f. Cf. Cunningham: ASI [Ann.] Rep. 20. 1885, p. 47f., Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 83ff. (C 2).

which proves that the sanctuary was a *vihāra* of the Mahāsāṅghika school, and the Bodhisattva image¹ bearing the inscription §126: L. 41 b.

A detached head with the monogram treated under §127: L. 143 e shows that also the statue of an Indo-Scythian prince was set up at that place.

For palaeographical reasons these finds as well as the fragmentary inscription §128: L. 21 c and the mason's mark §129: L. 143 i must be assigned to the Kuṣān period.

⟨143 d⟩

Facsimiles: below p. 306

§ 125

K 208

Fragmentary inscription on the edge of a monumental stone-bowl from the Pālikherā mound, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 662).

The bowl is figured ASI Ann. Rep. 1915/16, 1. 1917, pl. 5 d (cf. p. 16), in Vogel's *Sculpture de Mathurā* 1930, pl. 48 b (cf. p. 54), by D. R. Sahni, *Progr. Rep. Hindu and Buddhist Monuments* No 6. 1916/17°, p. 8. — [Cf. V. S. Agrawala, *Cat. Brahm. Images* 1951, p. 93.]

TEXT

///((Mahā)sāṃghiyānaṃ² parig[r]a[he] mā[t]āpitṛṇ[ā]m³ naṃ⁴
hita[s](ukhāye) bh[ava]t[u] — +⁵

TRANSLATION

(The bowl was given) for the acceptance of the (Mahā)sāṃghīyas (*Mahāsāṅghikas*).⁶ Let it be for the welfare and happiness of the parents (of the donor), of

The characters of the inscription belong to the Kuṣān period.

⟨41 b⟩

Facsimile: below p. 307

§ 126

K 64

Inscription on the upper and lower rims of the pedestal of a Bodhisattva statue from Pālikherā, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (N. S. 4145).

¹ In the ASI Ann. Rep. 1923/24. 1926, p. 231 it is stated that the image came from the Pālikherā mound.

² [The fourth *akṣara* of the whole word may be read as *ṅghī*.]

³ The ā-sign of ṇ[ā] is probable. After this word writing filling about 16'' is obliterated.

⁴ [It seems probable to read the remnants of the letter before *naṃ* as .[vā]; the word may be restored as (*sarvasat*)[vā]naṃ.]

⁵ [After the horizontal stroke there is a *maṅgala* symbol.]

⁶ [Cf. Lüders, *Acta Orientalia* 18. 1940, p. 19.]

The inscription was first noticed by Sir John Marshall, ASI Ann. Rep. 1916/17, 1. 1918, p. 13 + pl. 7c (showing the image), and subsequently edited by Ramaprasad Chanda, ASI Ann. Rep. 1922/23, p. 168 (cf. ditto, 1923/24. 1926, p. 231), and again by D. R. Sahni, Ep. Ind. 19. 1927/28, p. 66 No 2 + pl. See also Ann. Progr. Rep. of the Superintendent, Arch. Surv., Hindu and Buddh. Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st, March 1917°, p. 8. [For the image which bears the inscription cf. also Vogel, Sculpture de Mathurā 1930, p. 36f., pl. 26b, Bachhofer, Frühindische Plastik/Early Indian Sculpture 1929, pl. 83(r).]

TEXT

- 1 (mahārājasya) [d](e)vaputrasa Huv[i]škasya sa[m] 30 9 va 3 di 5
etasya[m] purva[y](a)m¹ bh[i]khuniye Puśaha[th]iniye [a](ṃtevāsi)-
2 ni[y](e)²
3 bh[i]khuniye Budhadevāye Bodhisatvo pratithāpito³ sahā mātāpitihi⁴
sarvasat[v]ahitasukh[a]⁵///

TRANSLATION

In the year 39 of *mahārāja devaputra* Huviška, in the 3rd (month) of the rainy season, on the 5th day, on this date, the Bodhisattva was set up by the nun Budhadevā (*Buddhadevā*), the female pupil of the nun Puśahasthini (*Puṣyasthini*), together with her parents for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

⟨143e⟩

Facsimile: below p. 307

§ 127

K 209

The Pālikherā mound is the finding place of a detached head, which is now preserved in the Mathurā Museum (No 1566).

It is figured in Vogel, Sculpture de Mathurā 1930, pl. 4c—d.

¹ The true reading may be *purva[y](e)*.

² Sahni reads *sa* after *Puśaha[th]iniye* and ignores the distinct *ni* below the *ye*. The *akṣara*, which Sahni takes to be *sa*, is apparently an initial *a*, and faint traces of the *mātrkā* of a *ya* are visible after the *ni* in the second line. As the photograph of the stone clearly shows that the corner of the upper rim is broken off, I have no doubt that the word is to be restored as *[a](ṃtevāsi)/ni[y](e)*.

³ [On the plate in Ep. Ind. 19. 1927/28 the lower parts of *tvo* and *pra* are distinctly visible.]

⁴ [The *i*-sign of *tī* is quite distinct.]

⁵ [There is a horizontal stroke above the first *sa*, therefore from the purely graphical point of view the reading *saṃrva* would be possible. On the plate in Ep. Ind. 19. 1927/28 the fourth *akṣara* shows a subscript *-va* below the *ta*.] The end of the word may be restored as *-sukh[a](ye)* or as *-sukh[a](rtham)*.

The head is covered with the conical cap which is a characteristic feature of the Indo-Scythian dress. On the right side the cap is decorated with a crescent. On the left side there is a monogram consisting of the Brāhmī letters *la*, *va*, and *na*, placed immediately one below the other.

The lowermost *akṣara* may also be taken as *ṇa*, if it is assumed that in interlacing the letters, the top-stroke of the *ṇa* was merged into the bottom-line of the *va*, just as the small top-stroke of the *va* apparently coincides with the bottom-line of the *la*.

The intended reading may therefore have been

Lavana (or:) Lavaṇa.

We find a similar monogram on the cap of a head from the village of Māt (cf. § 101: L. 80f). It is not quite easy to say what was the meaning of these monograms. I should suggest that they are personal names, perhaps in an abbreviated form, and that people had them embroidered on their clothing as a mark of property.

In this connection I should like to refer to two well-known scenes of the *Mṛcchakatika*: Vasantasenā recognises the mantle of her lover by the name worked into it (II 20, 10)¹ and Saṃsthānaka desists from covering the strangled courtesan with his cloak because it has his name on it and therefore might lead to detection (VIII 43, 23).²

⟨21c⟩

Facsimile: below p. 307

§ 128

K 9

Fragmentary inscription on the upper and lower rims of the pedestal of a Bodhisattva image from Pālikherā, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 664).

TEXT

1 [ma]³ [savatsa]re 8 va[rṣa]m[ās]e 2 [pra]⁴
 Sihakasya dānaṃ B[odhi]⁵///
 2 p. p. na⁶ sukhā[ye]

¹ Cf. ed. Parab 1900, p. 77.

² Cf. op. cit., p. 220.

³ The reading of the sign is not quite certain. After it about eight *akṣaras* seem to have followed which are now entirely obliterated. The words *mahārājasya Kaniṣkasya* would exactly fill the gap before [savatsa]re.

⁴ The *akṣara* seems to be *pra* [or 8].

May we restore (*divase*) [pra] and take [pra] as an abbreviation of *prathame*? It is hardly possible to read [ṣthe] instead of [pra], and the restoration **divase ṣaṣthe* is therefore very improbable.

⁵ [The vowel-sign of the first *akṣara* is certain in its right part which is denoted by a horizontal stroke to the right. Only faint traces of the second letter are preserved.] The word probably is to be restored as B[odhi](*satvo*).

⁶ The reading *na* is more probable than *ta*. Perhaps the original reading was *sarvasatvānaṃ*.

TRANSLATION

In the year 8 (of *mahārāja* Kaniṣka?), in the second month of the rainy season, (on the) .. (day), the (Bodhisattva?) (was set up as) the gift of Sihaka (*Siṃhaka*) for the happiness (of all sentient beings).

⟨143i⟩*

§ 129

K 213

On the back of an architectural piece found in the Pālikherā mound, now in the Mathurā Museum, there is one letter which seems to be the rest of an inscription or, more probably, a mason's mark.

The *akṣara* is to be read as

ry[a]¹

⟨143h⟩

Facsimile: below p. 308

§ 130

K 212

Fragmentary inscription on a broken pedestal from Pālikherā, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 1217).

Only a few letters are legible on the proper right side (a) and a single letter on the proper left side (b), which is covered with chisel marks.

TEXT

a 1 ... [r]asya
2 .. katyā²
b sa///

No sense can be discerned.

⟨143n⟩

Facsimile: below p. 308

§ 131

K 218

Fragmentary inscription on a broken pedestal from Pālikherā, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 1211).

The inscription is engraved on the front side (a) and on the rim on the proper left facet of the pedestal (b), but only the latter portion is still legible.

TEXT

a
b tv[ā]nām³ hit[a]sukhāe

¹ At the top of the ligature there is a stroke to the left. It is therefore possible to read the *akṣara* as ry[e] or as ry[i].

² The last *akṣara* may also be read as tyi or rtya.

³ Restore: (sarvasa)tv[ā]nām.

TRANSLATION

... for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

12. From Salempur

⟨143⟩*

§ 132

K 216

Inscription on an architectural piece discovered at the Salempur well (about 3½ miles to the south-west of Mathurā City), now in the Mathurā Museum (No 735).

TEXT

Dharma

The characters are very old. Perhaps *Dharma* is the abbreviated name of the sculptor.

13. From the Mahōli—Uspār Road

14e

Facsimile: below p. 308

§ 133

The stone bearing this inscription was obtained by Pandit Radha Krishna from a place on the perambulation road between the villages of Mahōli and Uspār, about 3 and 6 miles respectively south-west of the City. It is now in the Mathurā Museum. The stone in question is the fragment of a sculpture which may have represented a Nāga. The inscription is incised on the front face, the second line being continued on the proper left face of the base.

It was edited by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math 1910, p. 90 (C 16), and again ASI Ann. Rep. 1908/09. 1912, p. 162.

TEXT

1 [śrī-]Aśv[a]dev[a]sya¹

2 Bhavanandi-prāvar[i]kaputrāsya²

¹ The first *akṣara* is very imperfectly written. Vogel: śr[ī]-. The true reading of the last but one letter is possibly *vā*. In that case we would have to read *Aśva-dev[ā]sya*.

² Vogel: *Bhuvana-tripravaraka-putrasya*, but in *bhu* the *u*-sign is never expressed by the elongation of the vertical line; the fourth *akṣara* is clearly *ndi* not *tri*; the *ā*-sign of *prā* is quite distinct, and the *-i* of *r[ī]*, though a little blurred, is absolutely certain. The *trā* (not *ttra* as assumed by Vogel) shows the same elongation of the vertical as the *bha*.

TRANSLATION

Of Aśvadeva, the son of the cloakmaker Bhavanandin.

The letters of the inscription are badly and irregularly shaped, and considering the form of the *bha* and the *ta*, the inscription can hardly be earlier than 400 A. D.

14. Anyōr

Anyōr is a village at the south-eastern foot of the Girirāj or Gōvardhan hill which at present is dedicated to the worship of Kṛṣṇa. During the rule of the Kuṣāns and probably even before that time it must have been the site of a Buddhist *vihāra* of which the two statues bearing the inscriptions §134: L.12a and §135: L.13 have survived.

12a

Facsimiles: below p. 309

§ 134

Fragmentary inscription on the pedestal of a statuette discovered by Pandit Radha Krishna at Anyōr, where it was worshipped as the goddess Durgā by the Malkhānā Ṭhākurs of the village. The statuette is now in the Mathurā Museum. It represents the Buddha seated, in the attitude of imparting protection (Sk. *abhayaṃudrā*), but in the inscription it is probably called a Bodhisattva.

The statuette is figured ASI Ann. Rep. 1930—34, 2. 1936, pl. 122a (cf. p. 253). With the exception of the date, the inscription, which runs on the raised rims above and beneath the bas-relief of the pedestal, is for the most part illegible. Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 63 (A 65), read only the date of the year and the month.

TEXT

1 sam 50 1 gr[i] 3 di [4]¹ asya puvayā . . . m[a] .. [hāth. grasa] ..²

2 .. [sya]³ Bo [t].⁴ a .. rya⁵ Ma [ṅghika]na⁶ par[i] .. [h].⁷

¹ The figure is indistinct and not quite certain.

² The reading of these letters is very doubtful.

³ Something like *dānaṃ* may have stood in the lacuna.

⁴ Probably to be restored to *bo(dhisa)[t](o)*.

⁵ Perhaps to be restored to *a(ca)rya*, although we should expect the equivalent of *ācāryānām*.

⁶ The *akṣara ṅghi* is pretty distinct. As there is no curve at the bottom of the following *akṣara* it may be read only as *ka*, although the middle-bar of the letter is missing. The original reading was probably *mahāsāṅghikana*. [Cf. Lüders, Acta Orientalia 18. 1940, p. 19.]

⁷ Restore: *par[i](gra)[h](e)*.

TRANSLATION

In the year 51, in the 3rd (month) of summer, on the 4th (?) day, on this date, ... the Bodhisattva (?), the (gift) of, for the acceptance of the teachers (?), the Mahāsāṅghikas.

13

Facsimile: below p. 309

§ 135

Inscription on the upper rim of the pedestal of a seated Buddha, discovered by Cunningham in 1882/83 outside the village of Anyūr and acquired for the Mathurā Museum in 1908 by Pandit Radha Krishna.

The record was published by Cunningham, ASI [Ann.] Rep. 20. 1885, p. 49 + pl. 5,5, by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 48f. (A 2) with a photolithograph of the image on pl. 8, and again by Vogel, ASI Ann. Rep. 1909/10, 2. 1914, p. 64f. with a reproduction of the image (pl. 23b) and the inscription (pl. 29, 2). [The sculpture was figured also by Bachhofer, Frühind. Plastik/Early Indian Sculpture 1929, pl. 83 (1.).]

TEXT

- 1 [Ś]ā[ky]opāsakasya¹ Suśasya Hāruṣasya — dānaṃ² Budhaprat[i]mā
 Uttarasya³ H[ā]ruṣa[sya]⁴
 2 vihāre sahā mātāpitihi —⁵ sarvasatvānaṃ hitasukhartha[m]⁶

TRANSLATION

The gift of the Śākya lay brother Suśa Hāruṣa, an image of the Buddha at the convent of Uttara Hāruṣa, together with his parents, for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

Suśa Hāruṣa and Uttara Hāruṣa are apparently foreign names, though Uttara may stand for Sk. *Uttara*. The use of double names reminds of such names as Vag(r)a Mareg(r)a and Haṣṭhunā Mareg(r)a, which are probably Iranian in the Wardak Vase inscription (CII 2, 1, p. 170 No 86).

¹ Cunningham and Vogel read: *upāsakasya*. The first two signs in Cunningham's facsimile are perfectly imaginary. The form of the initial *u* as given there does not yet exist at the time of the inscription. The *mātrkā kya* can be easily recognized on the back of the impression, and only the *śa* is indistinct.

² The *anusvāra* is distinctly visible on the back of the impression. The stroke before *dānaṃ* appears to be intentional.

³ Vogel: *Uttarasya*, but the first *akṣara* is clearly *ū*.

⁴ The *ā*-stroke of *h[ā]* is not quite distinct in the impression. In an old rubbing of Cunningham which unfortunately is partly spoiled by tracing the letters in pencil the *sya* is clearer than in the impression recently made.

⁵ The stroke may be accidental.

⁶ The *anusvāra* is not quite certain.

For palaeographical reasons the date of the inscription cannot be later than the beginning of the Kuṣān rule.

Vogel is inclined to refer Hāruṣa to the native place of Suṣa and Ūttara, but until now Hāruṣa has not turned up as a geographical name.

15. From Sonkh

⟨31b⟩

Facsimile: below p. 309

§ 136

K 25

Inscription on the base of a Bodhisattva statuette which is said to have been found in a mound at the village of Sonkh, Mathurā Tahsil, about 14 miles to the south-west of the City. The stone is now in the Mathurā Museum (No 1602). The inscription consists of three lines engraved on the upper rim, in the middle on both sides of the central sculpture, and on the lower rim of the pedestal, respectively.

It was briefly noticed in the ASI Northern Circle, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Ann. Rep. for 1920/21° (not accessible to me), and edited by D. R. Sahni, JRAS 1924, p. 400f. No 2.

TEXT

- 1 maharasya Kāṇi¹ 20 3² gr 1 etasya[m] purvayaṃ v[i]hārasv[ā]m[i]sya
 Gun[d]asya³ dhītā⁴ Puśyada⁵
 2 Bodhisattvaṃ prat[i]ṣṭa[p]ay[ati]⁶
 3 svake vih[ā]re [sarvasatvanam hi]⁷

TRANSLATION

(In the year) 23 of *mahārāja* Kāṇi(ṣka), in the 1st (month) of summer, on this date, Puśyada(tā), the daughter of the lord of the *vihāra*, Gunda, sets up a Bodhisattva in her own *vihāra* (for the welfare and happiness) of all sentient beings.

¹ Fault of the engraver for *maharajasya Kāṇiṣkasya sam*. In the date the day also has apparently been omitted by mistake.

² Sahni has drawn attention to the fact that there is a horizontal stroke above the three bars denoting the figure 3, and has suggested that the figure might be meant for 4. But, as he remarked himself, there is no example of such representation of the numeral 4 and, as the uppermost stroke is thinner and longer than those below it, I am convinced that it is accidental. Mr. Agrawala is of the same opinion.

³ Sahni: *vihārisya Massagabhasya* (?). The reading of the title and the name is absolutely certain.

⁴ Sahni: *dhiti*, but the ā-sign is distinct.

⁵ Perhaps, as suggested by Sahni, *Puśyada* is a clerical mistake for *Puśyadatā*.

⁶ The engraver has forgotten to incise the right vertical of the *pa*.

⁷ Restore: [*hi*](*tasukāye*) or [*hi*](*tasukhārtham*).

16. From Chargaon

149b

Facsimile: below p. 310

§ 137

K 222

Inscription on the back of a statue of a standing Nāga discovered by Pandit Radha Krishna in 1908 near the village of Chargaon, ten miles map-measurement almost due south of Mathurā City and about one mile south-south-west of Bhainsā. The statue is now in the Mathurā Museum.

The inscription was edited by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 88f. (C 13), and again ASI Ann. Rep. 1908/09. 1912, p. 160f. + pl. 53 (image) and 56a (inscription). The statue was figured by Vogel, Sculpture de Mathurā 1930, pl. 41a—b (cf. p. 48), and again: Indian Serpent-lore 1926, pl. 5 (cf. p. 42 and 282), by Bachhofer, Frühind. Plastik/Early Indian Sculpture 1929, pl. 97, by Smith, History of fine Art in India and Ceylon² 1930, fig. 84, etc.

TEXT

- 1 maharajasya r[a]jāttirājasya Huvi[s]kasya¹ savatsara ca[ta]rīśa² 40
- 2 hemattam[a]s[e]³ 2 divase 20 3 etta purvāyyā
- 3 Senahasti⁴ [ca]⁵ Piṇḍapayyaputro⁶ Bhoṇḍake⁷ [c]a⁸
- 4 Viravṛddhiputro etti vayyasyā ubhayye

¹ [Vogel: *Huviskasya*. He apparently took the upper part of the third *akṣara* as *s*- as its left vertical is bent outwards and the bottom-line not closed, comparing the ligature of the word in question with the second *akṣara* of *puṣkaraṇīyya* (line 5) which is written differently.]

² In the impression the right half of the second *akṣara* is not visible; perhaps the letter was never quite finished. Vogel read *cat[u]rīśa*, but such a form does never occur in any dialect and we may just as well read *ca[ta]rīśa* or even *ca[tva]rīśa*.

³ Probably meant for *hemantamase*. [At the upper right part of the *ma* there is a small but distinct stroke to the right which makes the reading *māse* instead of *mase* possible.]

⁴ I think that this reading proposed by Vogel is right, but it implies that here the *ha* of the later Eastern alphabet is used.

⁵ The impression shows nothing but two vertical strokes. Here again it looks as if the letter had not been finished. [Concerning this sign Lüders remarked later on in the Manuscript:] *h*? [i. e. he then took the sign as the *visarga* belonging to the preceding word. *Senahastiḥ*, the later reading, seems to be more probable than *Senahasti* [ca] given in the text above.]

⁶ [The last but one *akṣara* bears the *u*-sign as well as the *ā*-sign.]

⁷ Vogel wavered between *Bhoṇuke* and *Bhoṇḍake* and decides for the former. But the *u*-sign should be a straight stroke, while the *ṇḍa* in the preceding word is almost exactly the same as here. The *ke* instead of *ko* seems to be due to the negligence of the engraver who forgot to draw the right bar of the *o*-sign.

⁸ Here the *ca* looks exactly like *va*.

5 nātā¹ prattistāpentī² puṣkaraṇiyya³
6 svakā[yyām]⁴ priy[y]att[i]⁵ bhagavā nāgo

TRANSLATION

In the fortieth – 40th – year of *mahārāja rājātirāja* Huviṣka, in the 2nd month of winter, on the 23rd day, on this date, Senahasti (*Senahastin*), the son of Piṇḍapayya, and Bhoṇḍaka, the son of Viravṛddhi (*Viravṛddhi*), these two comrades set up both (this) Nāga at his own tank. May the lord Nāga be pleased!

Vogel translates his reading *puṣkaraṇiyya svakayyām* with: “at their own tank”, but *svaka* refers to the Nāga. The present *priyyatti*, instead of the more common *priyatām*, seems to be used in analogy to *jayati*.

149c*

§ 138

K 223

Fragmentary inscription on a slab found at the village of Chargāon together with the Nāga image, treated before. A large portion of the surface of the stone has peeled off and only a few letters of the writing are legible.

The inscription was edited by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 186 (Q 4).

TEXT

1 ... [ra]jati[raja] [pu]tra⁶
2 [pu]rvāyyā⁷ . . .

¹ Properly the second *akṣara* ought to be read *tā*, though what is meant is undoubtedly *gaṇ*.

² The *tti* is disfigured by one cut which seems to be accidental. In *stā* the subscript *-ta* is attached to the *sa* in a very odd way; perhaps what looks like *-ta* is really the upper part of a *-tha* the lower part of which was not executed. Of the *e*-sign only the end resembling a dot is distinct in the impression. The last sign may be taken as *nti*.

³ Perhaps a very small *ā*-sign is attached to the *yya*, but there is no *anuvāra*.

⁴ The intended reading is certainly *svakāyyām*, but instead of *yyām* we might just as well read *ryyā*; cf. the *rvā* in line 2.

⁵ The subscript *-ta* looks more like *-na*. [Lüders transcribed the last *akṣara* as *tti*. Curiously enough he calls special attention to this letter (see in the text above) without indicating that the transliteration *ttā* (cf. the *syā* of l. 4) would be also possible and that the equivalent for *priyatām*, the more common reading, may have been meant by the engraver, writing *priyyattā* without the sign for the *anuvāra* at the end.]

⁶ Restore: [ra]jati[raja](*syā deva*)[pu]tra(*syā*).

⁷ Vogel: [pu]rvāyya. The *ā*-strokes are pretty distinct.

- 3 [k]āsas[v]avah[a]darava¹ ...
 4 payati² ...

I am unable to offer a translation. I cannot suggest anything that would satisfy myself as to the meaning of the eight syllables preserved in line 3. All that can be said is that the inscription probably recorded the setting up of some image or shrine and that it was dated in the reign of some king who by his title *rājātirāja* and *devaputra* is shown to have been one of the four Kuṣān rulers. It is not unlikely that it is contemporary with the inscription § 137: L. 149b and was in some way connected with it.

17. From Parkham

150

Facsimile: below p. 311

§ 139

Ś 16

On a tour during the cold season of 1882/83, Cunningham discovered a colossal standing statue of grey sandstone at Parkham, a village situated on a low mound 15 miles south of the City of Mathurā and several miles to the east of the road leading from Agra to Mathurā. The statue was worshipped at that time by the villagers under the name of Devatā. Later on it was transferred to the Mathurā Museum (C 1).

It represents a corpulent man cut in the round, including the pedestal 8' 8" or 2.62 m high. The head is detached and both arms are broken off. The figure is clothed in a *dhōṭī* which is secured by two flat girdles, one round the waist and one round the loins. The neck is decorated with a necklace and a torque with four dependent tassels at the back. The left knee is slightly bent. The position of the arms cannot be determined with certainty, but a break on the left side of the image makes it probable that the left hand was placed on the hip. According to Cunningham the statue shows traces of having been highly polished. There is an inscription in early Brāhmī characters on the top of the pedestal (on both sides of the feet [line 1 and 3] and between them [line 2]).

A description of the statue together with a photolithograph (showing the statue as well as a facsimile of the record) and the first reading of the inscription were published by Cunningham ASI [Ann.] Rep. 20. 1885, p. 39—41 + pl. 6. Cunningham conjectured that the statue was that of "a Yaksha, or attendant demi-god, who carried a *chaurī* over the right shoulder," and on account of the characters of the inscription which he took to be of the Aśoka period, he assigned the statue to the third

¹ The third *akṣara* read *sa* by Vogel seems to have a subscript letter, either *-va* or *-ta*. The fifth letter is certainly not *pi* as read by Vogel, but *ha*, *hā* or *ho*.

² Vogel: [*pri*]/*jati*, apparently a misprint for [*pri*]/*yati*. There being no trace of the *i*-sign and the subscript *-r* being quite hypothetical, *payati*, to be restored to (*pratiṣṭhā*)/*payati*, would seem to be preferable.

century B. C. The whole inscription, including the second line which had been overlooked by Cunningham, was read, "with every reserve", again by Konow, *Ind. Ant.* 38. 1909, p. 147, note 5.

In the following year Vogel gave a description of the statue accompanied by a photolithographic reproduction and his reading of the inscription in *Cat. Mus. Math.* 1910, p. 83 + pl. 12. Vogel thought that it was not very likely that an image of this size should have served the purpose of a simple attendant, and, as there is no indication that it held any object over the shoulder, he felt inclined to identify it with Kubera, which would agree with the corpulence of the figure. From the characters of the inscription he inferred that the statue was to be dated in the second century B. C.

When K. P. Jayaswal had advanced the startling thesis that the two Patna statues in the Calcutta Museum were portrait statues of Śaīsunāga kings, Brindavan C. Bhattacharya, in a paper in the *JBORS* 5. 1919, p. 402—404 (Śaīsunāga Statues), drew attention to the close resemblance of the Parkham image to those Patna statues, without inferring from it more than the essential identity of the three images as regards the character of the persons represented.

O. C. Gangoly went a step further. In the *Modern Review*, March 1919°, he pointed out that the three statues were similar in every respect to a statue from Pawāyā which, by its inscription,¹ had been proved to represent the Yakṣa Mānibhadra, and he concluded from it that the Parkham statue as well as the two Patna statues could not be anything but Yakṣa statues. He suggested that the Parkham image represented Gardabhaka, the presiding genius of Mathurā.

B. C. Bhattacharya's paper induced K. P. Jayaswal to examine the inscription of the Parkham image, and consequently he found it to state that the statue was that of the Māgadha King Kuṇika Ajātaśatru, set up in the 36th year of his reign, which would approximately correspond to 515 B. C. After a short preliminary note on his new reading (*JBORS* 5. 1919, p. 550f.),² K. P. Jayaswal edited the inscription with an elaborate commentary *JBORS* 6. 1920, p. 173—188. The paper is accompanied by six plates showing front and side views of the statue and reproductions of impressions, plaster and paper casts, tracings by Bishun Swarup, and Cunningham's drawings of the inscription.

Whereas K. P. Jayaswal's interpretation had found the support of Hara-prasad Shastri (*JBORS* 5. 1919, p. 563), it was strongly opposed by

¹ A full description of the statue, accompanied by a photolithograph, and an edition of the inscription were published by Garde, *ASI Ann. Rep.* 1915/16, 2. 1918°, p. 105f. + pl. 54, pl. 57, b—c.

² G. Ś. H. Ojha expressed his full agreement with the reading and interpretation of K. P. Jayaswal in the *Nāgaripracārīṇi Patrikā* 1. 1920°, p. 79 + plates. Grierson, *JRAS* 1921, p. 286, briefly noticed the just mentioned article and a discussion by Chandradhara Śarma Gulēri on the question of the so-called Patna statues. [Cf. above, p. 131, n. 1.]

Ramaprasad Chanda, University of Calcutta, Journal of the Department of Letters 4. 1921, p. 54—72, and plates 1—3 showing an excellent impression, plaster and paper moulds of the inscription. N. G. Majumdar made a valuable suggestion regarding the restoration of the first word of the inscription (*ibid.*, p. 55, note 1) and contributed a note on the palaeography of the inscription *IHQ* 2. 1926, p. 444f.

The image was analysed by Sir John Marshall, Cambridge History of India, vol. 1 (1922), p. 620 + pl. 12, 26. It was figured by Bachhofer, *Frühind. Plastik/Early Ind. Sculpture* 1929, pl. 11, by Vogel, *Sculpture de Mathurā* 1930, pl. 42, by A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas Pt 1* (1928), pl. 1, *History of Indian and Indones. Art/Geschichte der ind. u. indones. Kunst* 1927, pl. 3, 9, etc.—[Cf. also V. S. Agrawala, *Cat. Brahm. Images* 1951, p. 75—77.]

TEXT

1 (Mā)nibhadapuge[h]i kâ(r)i(t)â (bha)ga[va]to (patimā)¹

¹ The first partially preserved *akṣara* has been read *nī* by all except Konow who took it to be ["possibly"] the sign for *om*. I do not see how that would be possible. I consider the reading *nī* quite certain, the right part of the base-line of *na* being distinctly visible. The next two *akṣaras* are *bhāda* by common consent. It will be noticed that the line of writing is slightly ascending, and as about 2½ inches of the stone are broken off at the beginning of the inscription, it may be safely assumed that one *akṣara* standing a little lower than *nī* has been lost before *nī-bhāda*. I have not the slightest doubt that N. G. Majumdar's restoration of *nībhāda* as (Ma)nībhāda is essentially correct, though I should prefer the reading (Mā)nībhāda. — Instead of the plain *pu*, Jayaswal read *pra* apparently for no other reason but his inability to harmonize *pu* with his ideas about the purport of the inscription. — The following *akṣara* was read *ga* by Cunningham, Konow, Vogel, *śe* by Jayaswal. The *mātrkā* is obviously *ga* (it is certainly not *śa*), but the *e*-sign is very probable. — The vowel-sign of the next letter was taken to be *-ā* by Cunningham, but it is certainly *-i* as recognised by Konow, Vogel and Jayaswal. The *mātrkā* has generally been taken as *ra*; Jayaswal alone read *nī* by assuming an archaic form of *na* which does not exist. But as observed by F. Gelpke [cf. above Preface, p. 12, n. 2], the letter cannot be *ra*, the lower end of the vertical showing a distinct bend to the right which does not occur in the *ra* of any period. The *akṣara* therefore can have been only *hi* or *pi*, although the right half of the letter has disappeared.

The following letter was read *kā* by Konow and *nā* by Vogel. In the impressions before me it is distinctly *kā*. Of the following two *akṣaras* only the vowel-signs have been preserved, the first being certainly *-i*, the second most probably *-ā*. The restoration *kā(r)i(t)ā* is obvious.

The following letter has been completely destroyed. The next three letters were read *garaṇa* [or *garana*] by Konow. The *ga* may be called certain, whereas the last *akṣara* in my opinion is clearly *to*. The letter between *ga* and *to* is doubtful. It is hardly *ra*, but probably a letter of which only the vertical at the top has been preserved, while the lower portion is damaged. In my opinion the letter is to be read as [va]. — It is tempting to restore .. *ga* .. *to* as (bha)ga[va]to and to assume that the following letters which are quite illegible were *patimā*, but it must be borne in mind that the reading *bhagavato patimā* is to a large extent conjectural. — According to Jayaswal the text runs after *-puge[h]i* (or, as he reads, *pra-Senī*) as follows: *Ajā(ta)śatru* (or *ttru*) *rājo S[i]rī*.

2 aṭha(h)i [bhātu]hi¹

3 Kuṇikatevāsina Gomitakena katā²

TRANSLATION

The image of the Holy One was caused to be made by eight brothers, members of the Māṇibhada (*Māṇibhadra*) congregation.³ It has been made by Gomitaka (*Gomitaka*), the pupil of Kuṇika.

I do not think it necessary to enter into a discussion of Jayaswal's translation, as it is based on readings and interpretations which display an utter disregard of all that we know of palaeography and grammar. Anybody who compares the statue with the two Patna statues or the Gwalior statue of Maṇibhadra will be convinced that it is the image of a Yakṣa.

Provided my restoration (*bha*)ga[va]to is correct, the Yakṣa would be called only *bhagavat* in the inscription exactly as in the Masharfa inscription.⁴ But as in that inscription there can be no doubt that *bhagavat* refers to Maṇibhadra, since the donor calls his grandfather a *Māṇibhada*, i. e. a votary of Maṇibhadra, here also *bhagavat* can be understood only as the reverential designation of Maṇibhadra, as it is stated that the statue was caused to be made by eight brothers who call themselves *Māṇibhadapugas*. (*Mā*)*nibhadapuga*-, for *Māṇibhaddapugga*-, goes back to Sk. *Māṇibhadrapūgya*-, *pūgya*- being formed in accordance with Pāṇini 4, 3, 54 with the suffix *-ya*- in the sense of 'being there' (*pūgya*- 'being in the *pūga*-'). From Pāṇini 6, 2, 131 (and Gaṇa 208 and 116) it appears that *pūgya*- was used in particular at the end of a Tatpuruṣa-compound, which is not a Karmadhāraya, that serves as a name or designation. The *Māṇibhadrapūga* was apparently a congregation formed for the worship of Maṇibhadra. Consequently, *Māṇibhadrapūgya*-

¹ The first two *akṣaras* are distinctly *aṭha* as read by Konow and Vogel. Of the third letter only the *i*-sign has been preserved; it may be restored to (*h*)*i*. The sixth *akṣara* was read *hi* by Konow, *pi* by Vogel. The true reading is undoubtedly *hi*. Konow [cf. above Preface, p. 12, n. 2] thinks that *hi* was preceded by *saṃ*, of which I cannot discover any trace. Judging from the impressions before me the reading was almost certainly *bhātuhi*. There seems to have been no more writing in the line. — Jayaswal transliterated the line: 4, *thū* (= 10), *ḍa* (= 10), 4, *hri* (= 8) (*i. e.*, 36).

² The line was almost certainly correctly transliterated already by Cunningham. After the correction of *ni* into *ṇi* and of *mā* into *mi* by Konow, it may be called absolutely certain. There are some strokes visible before *Kuṇikatevāsina*, but they are probably only accidental. — Jayaswal's reading of the line is *Kuṇika Śevāsinaḡo Māgadhānaḡ Rājā* (*stop*).

³ [Later on the author noticed in the Manuscript:] Cf. s. v. *pūga* in the indices of: *Arthaśāstra des Kauṭilya*, übers. . . von J. J. Meyer 1926; R. Mookerji, *Local Government in Ancient India*, 2nd ed. 1920; R. Ch. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, 2nd ed. 1922.

⁴ [Ep. Ind. 18. 1925/26, p. 158f.]

would name or designate a person being in (appertaining to) that congregation.

The characters of the inscription and the style of the image point to the middle of the second century B. C. as the date of its origin.

⟨150a⟩*

§ 140

Inscription on the torso of a figure of Kubera from the village of Parkham, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 1266).

TEXT

- 1 āryya[sya] ..
- 2 huṣami ..
- 3 sya¹ niva-
- 4 rttana —

TRANSLATION

... the request of the venerable (Na)huṣami(tra).

Nivarttana appears to be a misspelling for *nirvarttanam* or *nirvarttanāt*. The phrase used here has hitherto been found only in Jaina records, where frequently a gift is said to have been made at the request of some monk who invariably is styled as *ārya*. But it would be rash to conclude from the phrase in the present inscription that there was a Jaina sanctuary at Parkham to which the figure was dedicated. Kubera is not a special figure of Jaina mythology and the phrase and the custom implied by it may also have been in use among followers of another creed, and lastly it is not impossible that the sculpture somehow or other was brought to Parkham from the Jaina sanctuary at Mathurā.

⟨150b⟩*

§ 141

Fragmentary inscription on a figure of Kubera in relief from the Parkham District, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 1264).

TEXT

- 1 traḥ² ya
- 2 [dha]tham[o]

No sense can be discerned.

¹ The name is probably to be restored to (Na)huṣami(tra)sya.

² The *akṣara* may be read *śraḥ*.

18. From Gukharauli

⟨135b⟩*

§ 142

K 195

Fragmentary inscription on the pedestal of a standing female statue, from Gookhroli (Gukharauli, about 17 miles to the south-east of Mathurā). The stone is now in the Mathurā Museum (No 127).

TEXT

... [sya] Senas[y]a śi¹ ...

TRANSLATION

... the pupil (?) of the Sena ...

The fragment seems to be the rest of a dedicatory Jaina inscription. A Jaina monk of the name of Sena is mentioned in List No 18 and List No 45. As the restoration of the text is not certain and as we do not know how the image came to Gookhroli, it would be unsafe, of course, to conclude that there was a Jaina sanctuary at that place.

¹ Probably to be restored as *śi(ṣyo)* or *śi(śinī)*.

IV. MATHURĀ INSCRIPTIONS —
PLACE OF DISCOVERY UNKNOWN

IV. MATHURĀ INSCRIPTIONS — PLACE OF DISCOVERY UNKNOWN

1. Antiquities in the Mathurā Museum

125b

Facsimile: below p. 312

§ 143

K 164

Fragmentary inscription on the broken pedestal of a standing figure, presumably a Bodhisattva, of which only one foot remains. The place of discovery of the pedestal, which is now in the Mathurā Museum, is unknown.

The inscription is referred to by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 61 (A 56).

TEXT

1 ///ti[n]iya¹ ... ///

2 ///... 3 g[r]i 1 [di]///

TRANSLATION

... of the first wife (?) ... (in the year) .3, in the 1st (month) of summer, on the .. day ...

81a*

§ 144

K 94

Fragmentary inscription on a pedestal of which only the upper proper right corner is preserved. The place where the stone is found is unknown.

It was edited by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 122 (G 39).

TEXT

1 [si]ddha[m] maharajā² ...

2 ya³ ...

3 paṭimā ne⁴ ...

4 va ...

TRANSLATION

Success! (In the year) ... (of) *mahārāja* ... an image ...

¹ Restore probably: (*dharmapa*)*ti[n]iya*.

² [Vogel: *Mahārājā*.]

³ After *ya* the left half of a letter which may have been *va* is visible.

⁴ Vogel read [*te*].

125j

Facsimile: below p. 312

§ 145

K 172

Inscription on the fragment of a railing pillar in the Mathurā Museum. The place of discovery is unknown.

The pillar is described by Vogel as showing on the obverse the lower portion of a female figure standing on a cushion and on the reverse two compartments. In the upper one there are two figures wearing elaborate turbans. Each holds a bunch of flowers in the right hand. In the lower panel there is a male figure in Indo-Scythian dress wearing a conical cap, a tunic, trousers, and heavy boots. He rests his left hand on the grip of his sword bound to his left side, and holds in the right hand a bunch of flowers and a garland which he seems to have taken from a flat basket or dish carried on the head of a kneeling dwarf. Both scenes are enclosed between pilasters. The inscription is incised beneath the lower panel.

It was published by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 145 (J 13).

TEXT

Sa[m]ghadevasa¹

TRANSLATION

Of Saṃghadeva.

Vogel takes *Sa[m]ghadeva* as the donor's name. I am more inclined to class the inscription with the following inscriptions, and to look at it as the sculptor's name, which in this case is given in its full form and in the genitive case.

125f

Facsimile: below p. 312

§ 146

K 167

Inscription on the fragment of a railing pillar in the Mathurā Museum. The place of discovery is unknown.

According to Vogel, the fragment presents on the obverse a prostrate dwarf on which a figure is standing of which only the feet remain. On the reverse is a panel with a dwarf-like figure in a short petticoat, carrying on his head a flat dish or basket filled with fruit or flowers from which another person, whose head is broken, seems to take something. The panel is enclosed between Persepolitan pilasters. Under the panel is the inscription.

It was first edited by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 147 (J 21).

¹ [The brackets indicate that the first two *akṣaras* of the word may be read either as *saṃgha* or as *saṅgha*.]

TEXT

Joṭisa¹

Vogel took the inscription as the name of the donor in the genitive case. I am convinced that, just as *Rama*, *Dāsa*, *Śivara*, in the inscriptions § 77: L. 125i, § 147: L. 125g, § 149: L. 125h, it is the name of the sculptor in the stem-form. Probably *Joṭisa*² is the equivalent to Sk. *Jyotiṣa*. Hemacandra, *Deśināmamālā* 3, 49, quotes *joḍaṃ* and *joisaṃ* in the sense of *nakkhatta*.

125g

Facsimile: below p. 312

§ 147

K 168

Inscription on the fragment of a railing pillar in the Mathurā Museum.³ The place discovery is unknown.

Vogel states that on one side there are the feet of a figure wearing stout boots and standing on a cushion. On the reverse in a panel enclosed between two pilasters are two men in the act of killing a tortoise with sticks. He has identified the scenes with the *Kacchapajātaka*, ASI Ann. Rep. 1906/07. 1909, p. 156f., fig. 1; BEFEO 9. 1909, p. 528f. (offprint p. 20f.); *Sculpture de Mathurā* 1930, pl. 21c. Under the panel is the inscription.

It was first edited by Vogel, *Cat. Mus. Math.* 1910, p. 149f. (J 36).

TEXT

Dāsa⁴

This inscription also has apparently no reference to the figure or to the scene represented in the panel, but is to be regarded as the name of the sculptor.

91c

Facsimile: below p. 312

§ 148

K 114

Inscription on the fragment of a railing pillar in the Mathurā Museum (J 48). Nothing is stated about the place of discovery.

According to Vogel, on the obverse there is a standing figure completely defaced. On the reverse are two panels much obliterated. In the upper

¹ Vogel read *Jodasa*, but the second letter is distinctly *ṭi*.

² Cf. the inscription § 148: L. 91c.

³ [Vogel, *Cat. Mus. Math.*, p. 150, referred to ASI [Ann.] Rep. 17. 1884, pl. 31c where already Cunningham reproduced the fragment without referring to it in the text.]

⁴ [Vogel: *Dasa*. The reading given above is certain.]

panel are two figures, male and female, standing. In the lower panel are a male figure and a crouching dwarf.

Vogel remarks that these scenes seem to be similar to those on the reverse of the railing pillar J 13¹, but the male figure and the dwarf re-occur also in the lower panel of the fragmentary railing pillar J 21, and that this pillar and the present pillar J 48 are the work of the same sculptor is shown by their inscriptions.

In the Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 152, Vogel refers to the inscription on pillar J 48 only by calling it "three symbols", but really it is identical with the inscription on the pillar J 21 (= § 146: L. 125⁴).

TEXT

Joṭisa

In this case the inscription is incised on the tenon of the pillar, and this in my opinion definitely proves that it was not intended for recording the name of the donor, but is only the signature of the sculptor.

125h

Facsimile: below p. 312

§ 149

K 170

Inscription on a railing pillar in the Mathurā Museum. The place of discovery is not known.²

Vogel states that the pillar is carved on both sides. On the obverse is a prostrate dwarf on which stood a figure of which only the feet remain. On the reverse a somewhat defaced panel contains the figure of a man, perhaps an ascetic, who holds a staff in his left hand and with his right points towards an object, probably a bird, which is shown across the trunk of a palm-tree. The scene, which is enclosed between Indo-Persepolitan pilasters, probably refers to some Jātaka. The inscription is beneath the panel and in inverted letters.

It was first read by Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math. 1910, p. 152f. (J 52).

TEXT

Śivara

The fact that the letters are incised upside down shows clearly that the inscription is nothing but the signature of the sculptor as was suggested already by Vogel. Probably *Śivara* is not the full name, but an abbreviation of *Śivarakṣita*.

¹ "J 18" in Vogel, Cat. Mus. Math., p. 152, seems to be a misprint for J 13 (bearing the inscription § 145: L. 125j).

² [Cf. above p. 36f., n. 1.]

<24a>

Facsimile: below p. 313

§ 150

K 14

Inscription on the pedestal of a seated Bodhisattva, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 121). The place of discovery is not known. The first two lines are on the upper, the third line is on the lower rim.

The inscription was edited by Vogel, JRAS 1912, p. 119, and again ASI Ann. Rep. 1909/10, 2. 1914, p. 65, with reproductions of the image (pl. 24c) and the inscription (pl. 29, 3).

TEXT

- 1 [sa 10]¹ 7 v[a 4² di] .. etasa purvāyā Dharm[a]k[a]sa³ sovaṇik[a]sa
kūṭubiniye⁴
2 upaśikā⁵ N[a]gapiyā⁶ Bodhisattva pratiṭhāpeti svakāyā cet[i]-
3 yākaṭ[i]y[ā]⁷ acāryana Dharmagutakāna pratigrahe

TRANSLATION

In the year 17, in the 4th (month) of the rainy season, on the .. day, on this date, the housewife of the goldsmith Dharmaka, the female lay-member Nāgapiyā (*Nāgapriyā*) sets up a Bodhisattva in her own

¹ The first two signs are badly damaged, but enough remains to make the reading *sa 10* certain [which moreover is confirmed from the reverse of impression].

² Of the numerical symbol after *v[a]* a vertical stroke is preserved; the symbol therefore must have been 4.

³ The reading *Dharmākāsa* would be possible, but the seeming *ā*-signs may be accidental.

⁴ Vogel: *kutubiniye*. [In the JRAS the third *akṣara* is given as *hi* which apparently is only a misprint for *bi*.] There is a distinct horizontal stroke attached to the end of the middle bar of the *ka*. It touches the top-line of the *kā* of *svakāyā* in the line below, but it cannot belong to that letter as the reading *svakoyā* in the second line would be impossible.

⁵ Vogel: *up[āśi]kā*, but the *pa* has no *ā*-sign. [Besides the *i*-sign at the top of the third *akṣara* there are two strokes to the right which seem to be accidental.]

⁶ [It seems not impossible that the first *akṣara* is meant as *nā*; cf. the two instances of *na* in line 3.]

⁷ Transcribing at first in the JRAS *citāyā kaṭi ye*, Vogel gave in the ASI Ann. Rep. the reading: *cetāyā kaṭeyo (?)*. — The *e*-sign of *ce* is unmistakable. The vowel-sign of *ta* is evidently the *i*-sign which here is even less curved than e. g. in *binī* in line 1 to avoid the running into the *ye* of the line above. [The letter is quite distinct on pl. 24c, representing the pedestal: the vowel-sign is marked by a long horizontal stroke to the right with a curvature at the end which is not to be seen on pl. 29, 3 of the Ann. Rep. and in the impressions.] I have no doubt that the vowel-sign of *ta* [— a nearly horizontal stroke to the left —] also is the *i*-sign which for want of space is straightened just as the *i*-sign of *pi* in line 2. The last *akṣara* is certainly *yā*, not *yo*. *Cet[i]/yākaṭ[i]y[ā]* is incorrectly written for *cetiyaṭi*.

caityakuṭī for the acceptance¹ of the Dharmagutaka (*Dharmaguptaka*)¹ teachers.

The construction of the sentence is faulty, the instrumental *kūṭubiniye* being used instead of the nominative. The term *cetiyaṅkuṭī* occurs once more in §157: L. 79b where a monk is said to have set up a Bodhisattva in his own *cetiyaṅkuṭī*. The expression seems to be a synonym of *cetiyaṅghara*.

⟨149g⟩*

§ 151

K 225

Fragmentary inscription on the pedestal of a seated statue of which only the legs and the waist are preserved. The place of discovery of the stone, which is now in the Mathurā Museum (No 1263), is not known.

TEXT

1 siddham śrī-Śiśurik[a]yā² Jayadā[sa]sya kuṭumbi³ m[ū]-
gaki.[i]kā⁴

2 [bhi]kṣu⁵

TRANSLATION

Success! By the illustrious Śiśurikā, the housewife of Jayadāsa

I can make no suggestions as to the meaning of the rest of the inscription. Provided my reading is correct, the occurrence of the term *bhikṣu* in line 2 shows that the inscription recorded the gift of a Buddhist image.

⟨135a⟩*

§ 152

G 10

Fragmentary inscription on a pedestal in the Mathurā Museum (No 1611). The stone is said to come from the Kaṅkāli Tīlā, but this statement appears to be erroneous.

¹ [Cf. Lüders, Acta Orientalia 18. 1940, p. 18ff.]

² There is probably no vowel-sign at the top of the *ka*. The *ā*-sign of *yā* is a little turned upwards, probably to avoid the crossing of the right bar of the *mātrkā ya*.

³ Restore to *kuṭumbi(niyā)* or a similar form.

⁴ The first *akṣara* may after all be *mbha*. The right leg of the *ga* is unusually elongated so that the letter looks like the numerical symbol for 7. The fourth *akṣara* is defaced by a deep cut, but it seems to have an *i*-sign.

⁵ Here the writing seems to have been intentionally destroyed. The first letter is probably *bhi*, the second certainly *kṣu*. The rest is illegible.

TEXT

- 1 Śākyabhikṣo nandi[sya]¹ ..
 2 nā .ā [ya]² na

The only word of the text that is certain is *Śākyabhikṣo(h)* 'of the Śākya monk', which proves that the inscription recorded the gift of some Buddhist image. It is therefore almost certain that the stone does not originate from the Kaṅkāli Tīlā which hitherto has yielded exclusively Jaina sculptures. *Nandi* may be the name, or part of the name, of the monk.

The reading of the rest of the inscription is doubtful. The ordinary phrase of post-Kuṣāṇ Buddhist inscriptions: *yad atra puṇyaṃ tad bhavatu sarvasatvānām anuttaraññānāvāptaye* can hardly be reconciled with the traces of the letters.

⟨143b⟩*

§ 153

K 206

Fragmentary inscription on the pedestal of a Buddha image of which only the feet and the lotus between them remain, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 2327). The place of discovery is unknown.

TEXT

... .. sarvasatvāhita-
 sukhār[tha]³

TRANSLATION

... .. for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

⟨21a⟩

Facsimiles: below p. 313

§ 154

K 7

Fragmentary inscription on the pedestal of an image of a seated Buddha in red sandstone of which only the lower part remains. The first line is on the upper rim, the second and third lines, which are partly obliterated, are on the lower rim. The place where the image was found is not known. It is now in the Mathurā Museum (No 2347).

The inscription was noticed by N. P. Chakravarti, ASI Ann. Rep. 1930—34, 1. 1936, p. 248, and edited by V. S. Agrawala, JUPHS 10. 1937, p. 5 No 8.

¹ The *sya* is very doubtful.

² [Concerning these three *akṣaras* Lüders wrote on the margin of his manuscript:] *nāhāpa*.

³ Perhaps the missing *ṃ* stood in the destroyed portion of the stone.

TEXT

1 sa[m] 8 va 4 d[i] 20 3 Buddhadāsiye bhikṣuṇiye ...¹
 2² ///[u] .. hak[i]ye³ [vihāre]⁴ (sar)[vasa]tvā[naṃ h](i)[tasu](khā)-
 3 [y](e) —

TRANSLATION

In the year 8, in the 4th (month) of the rainy season, on the 23th day, (the gift) of the nun Buddhadāsi in the ... *hakiya vihāra*⁴ ... for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

N. P. Chakravarti's conjecture that the inscription recorded the gift of a seat or pedestal cannot be upheld.

⟨135c⟩*

§ 155

Kṣa 37

Fragmentary inscription on a stone which seems to have formed part of a pedestal, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 2686). The place of discovery is not known.

TEXT

1 [s]ya [sa]gha[s]tha[vi]ra⁵
 2 bh[ā]gineyiye⁶ nā[ma]

TRANSLATION

... of the senior of the Order ... by the sister's daughter ...

⟨135d⟩*

§ 156

K 197

Fragmentary inscription on a piece of stone in the Mathurā Museum (No 2687). The place of discovery is unknown.

¹ Agrawala reads the first *akṣara* after *bhikṣuṇiye* as *dā* which he apparently wants to restore as *dānaṃ*. But the reading *dā* is doubtful. There seems to have been an *i*-sign at the top of the letter.

² The last two lines were not read by Agrawala.

³ [What is left of the *akṣara* after .[u] may be read as *ja* or *ṣa*.]

⁴ The reading of this word cannot be called certain. [Reading *[vihāre]* Lüders seems to have had another and better set of impressions at his disposal, as from the two estampages of the lower rim, which are now in our collection, the remnants of the first *akṣara* may be read as *[bha]* and the next as *da*.]

⁵ The *anusvāra* of the first *akṣara* may have been broken off.

⁶ The *ā*-sign of *bh[ā]* is doubtful.

TEXT

- 1 ma
 2 lohitana¹
 3 [y]e

The inscription seems to have recorded a gift for the welfare of the blood-relatives of the donor.

⟨79b⟩

Facsimiles: below p. 314

§ 157

K 86

Inscription on the pedestal of an image of a seated Bodhisattva broken vertically into two pieces, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 2740). The provenance of the fragment is not known.² The first line is engraved on the upper rim, lines 2 and 3 are on the lower one.

TEXT

- 1 [siddham mahārājas(y)a³ Kanīṣka]sya⁴ [saṃvatsa]re 10 [6⁵ va 1
 di] .. etasyam p(ūrvā)[yaṃ]⁶ viharisya bh[i]kṣusya Nāgadattasya⁷
 (.)
 2 dān[a] Bodhisattv[o] Kaṣṭi[k]īy[e⁸ v]ihāre svakā[yaṃ ce]ti[ya]-
 kuṭiyam .. (.) .. [h]i[ta]s[y]a⁹ viharih[i]¹⁰ sa[rva]-
 budhapūjāye [sa]rva[sa]-
 3 [tv]anā hitas[u]khāye [aca]riyanā Mahā[saghi]yan[ā¹¹ pra]tig(rahe)

¹ Restore probably: (sa)lohitana.

² Mr. Agrawala says: "The findplace of the pedestal No 2740 is the same as that of No 2739 described in my article in JUPHS (Dec. 1937): main street of Mathurā City, near Khanskhar, about 2.5 m below the surface of the street."

³ Of the first two words the letters except [mahā] are almost entirely obliterated, but the reading is practically certain.

⁴ The subscript -ya shows the full tripartite form.

⁵ The figure of the unit may be 6, but it is not certain.

⁶ The ū-sign of p(ū) and the (rvā) are lost owing to the break of the stone. Provided the two pieces are put together in the right distance, there is no room in the line for the following yaṃ or yām. It has possibly been inserted below the line, although the traces of the letter visible there cannot easily be reconciled with the reading yaṃ or yām.

⁷ If the right distance is kept in putting the two pieces of the stone together, probably four or five akṣaras would seem to have been lost after Nāgadattasya, but no writing is discernible after that word.

⁸ The e-sign of y[e] is not quite certain.

⁹ The first akṣara may be pi, the second may be na [or naṃ], but probably [h]i[ta]s[y]a is to be restored to (sa)[h]i[ta]s[y]a.

¹⁰ The i-sign of h[i] is a little doubtful.

¹¹ [The last akṣara of the word may be read also as naṃ.]

TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 16 of *mahārāja* Kanīṣka, in the 1st (month) of the rainy season, on the .. day, on this date, the Bodhisattva (was set up as) a gift of the monk Nāgadatta, a resident of the *vihāra*, in the Kaṣṭhikīya (*Kāṣṭhikīya*) *vihāra* in his own *caityakuṭī* ... together with the residents of the *vihāra*, for the worship of all Buddhas (and) for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings, for the acceptance¹ of the Mahāsaghiya (*Mahāsāṅghika*)¹ teachers.

The *Kaṣṭhikīya vihāra* seems to be the *vihāra* belonging to the timber-merchants. The term 'in his own *caityakuṭī*' occurs again in § 150: L. 24a.

⟨143p⟩*

§ 158

K 220

Sign on a round ball of a light purple coloured stone measuring $3\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter and weighing $76\frac{1}{2}$ *tolās*, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 2757). The place of discovery is not known.

V. S. Agrawala read the sign as the numerical symbol for

100

⟨91f⟩

Facsimile: below p. 314

§ 159

Ś 9

Fragmentary inscription on a detached piece of stone in the Mathurā Museum (No 2790). The place of discovery is not stated.

TEXT

- 1 ///y[ā]ye///
- 2 ///kiyas[a]²///
- 3 ///..³///

No sense can be discerned.

⟨91h⟩

Facsimile: below p. 314

§ 160

Ś 10

Fragmentary inscription on a detached piece of stone, now in the Mathurā Museum (No 2791). The place of discovery is not known.

The inscription was edited by V. S. Agrawala, JUPHS 10.1937, p. 4 No 7b.

¹ [Cf. Lüders, *Acta Orientalia* 18. 1940, p. 18f.]

² The last *akṣara* may also be read as *s[u]*.

³ [Below the *ya* of the second line the upper part of one letter of a third line is distinctly visible.]

TEXT

1 ///.. [G]. [m]. tra[sa]¹..///
 2 ///...[ā]...²///

TRANSLATION

... of Gomitra ...

2. Antiquities in the Lucknow Provincial Museum

⟨149u⟩

Facsimile: below p. 314

§ 161

G 9

Inscription on the base of a Nāga statue probably from Mathurā, now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum (B 934).

It was edited by Vogel, ASI Ann. Rep. 1908/09. 1912, p. 163 + pl. 55a (image) and 56b (inscription).

TEXT

1 Viṣṇusyaḥ³ Gomindrapūtrasyaḥ⁴ Ha[ku]dattap[au]ttrasyaḥ⁵
 2 kittraḥ⁶ —

TRANSLATION

The glorious gift (?) of Viṣṇu (*Viṣṇu*), the son of Gomindra (*Govinda*), the grandson of Hakudatta.

The inscription is in crudely executed letters of the later Gupta period. As nearly all Buddhist inscriptions in the Lucknow Provincial Museum originate from the Jamālpur mound at Mathurā, there is, as pointed out by Vogel, a slight probability that the statue represents the Nāga Dadhikarna who had his shrine there.

¹ Restore: [G](o)[m](i)tra[sa].

² Of the second line only the upper portions of some letters are preserved.

³ Preceded by a symbol which may be read *om*. Vogel: *Viṣṇusyaḥ*, but the vowel-sign of the first *akṣara* appears to be -ī. Here and in the rest of the inscription the *visarga* apparently is used to separate the words.

⁴ Vogel: -*puttrasyaḥ*, but the *ū*-sign is distinct.

⁵ Vogel: *Hastadatta*-. The second *akṣara* can hardly be *sta*. It seems to be *ku*, the vertical stroke to the right of the letter being probably accidental.

⁶ Vogel: *kittraḥ*, but here again the vowel-sign of the first *akṣara* appears to be -ī. Perhaps, as suggested by Vogel, *kittraḥ* stands for *kīrttiḥ*.

89b

Facsimile: below p. 315

§ 162

Kṣa 17

Fragmentary inscription on a split coping stone, now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum (E 2). The inscription is incised across the stone, not lengthwise as one should expect in a coping stone, and therefore, in my opinion, it is probable that the stone was originally a pillar which afterwards was turned into a coping stone. The rosette carved on it is much the same as that on the coping stone J 491, which formed part of a railing from Mathurā. Nothing is known about the place of discovery of the stone.

Banerji's attempt to identify it with a coping stone said to have been found at Rāmnagar, in the Bareilly district, has been refuted by Lüders, JRAS 1912, p. 175f. Probably the stone belongs to the Mathurā finds. The material, though somewhat different from the ordinary red sandstone, resembles that of several specimens from Mathurā, including the coping stone J 491 mentioned above.¹

The inscription was edited by R. D. Bandyopādhyāya [= R. D. Banerji²], JPBAS 5. 1909, p. 271f. No 1, and again, now under the name of R. D. Banerji, Ep. Ind. 10. 1909/10, p. 107f. No 1 + pl. 1.

TEXT

1 na[mo³ bha]gav[a]⁴///2 [ropāgharā]⁵...///

¹ Mr. Hiranandi Sastri, to whom I owe this information, has also told me that the old register, preserved in the Museum, where the finds from Rāmnagar of the year 1892 are entered, does not mention any inscribed coping stone at all. This seems to me to be corroborative evidence for my opinion that the stone did not come from Rāmnagar.

² [Cf. below Bibliography, p. 241, n. 1.]

³ There may have been a word like *siddham* to the left of the first line outside the text of the proper inscription, but what looks like traces of writing are more probably mere scratches in the stone. [Bandyopādhyāya read at the beginning: *[Si]ddham*, as before the word *na[mo]* below the line there is a sign resembling the lower part of the ligature *ddha*. It is followed by a horizontal stroke somewhat higher in the line which Bandyopādhyāya apparently took as the sign for the *anusvāra*.] — The proper inscription begins at any rate with *na[mo]* and no writing is lost in the beginning of the lines 2 and 7—11 as appears from the fact that the first letters of these lines stand exactly one below the other. At the end of the lines from four to seven *akṣaras* seem to be lost.

⁴ Restore: *[bha]gav[a](te)*.

⁵ The reading of the four letters is only tentative. Banerji read: *bughara* . . The first *akṣara* may be *ro*, *rā*, *ko*, or *kā*. For the second letter the reading *bu* is not impossible, although it will be observed that the two vertical bars of the letter do not really touch the horizontal bars and the *u*-stroke also is not strictly joined to the *mātrkā* read by Banerji as *ba*. I would prefer to read *pā*, although this is

- 3 (va)rṣ[e] pratha[me]¹///
 4 (di)[va]se 10 1 .[u]///
 5 (.)[va]mitrasya pra²///
 6 (.)sya pautreṇa Śau///
 7 Bhārgavīputr[e]ṇa ..///
 8 su Pāṃcālīye³///
 9 sthiten[a] pāti⁴ ..///
 10 kāyāṃ patitaḥ⁵///
 11 itaḥ sthitenā///

TRANSLATION

Adoration of the holy In the first year on the 11th day . . .
 . . . , by the great-grandson of . . . va-mitra, the grandson of , (the
 son of) Śau , the son of Bhārgavī, standing (in ?)
 belonging to the Pāñcālas fallen in from here stand-
 ing

Although nothing can be said about the purport of the inscription, I have treated it as an Annex to the Bhāgavata inscriptions,⁶ because it is engraved in pre-Kuṣāṇ characters and composed in pure Sanskrit. This makes it improbable at any rate that it should be a Buddhist or Jaina inscription. The invocation at the beginning may have been addressed to *bhagavat Vāsudeva*.

The inscription appears to be dated in the first year of some local king whose name must have stood in the second line. Unfortunately it cannot be made out in what relation the donor stood to the Pāñcālas who seem to be mentioned in line 8. Banerji wanted to restore the name of the great-grandfather of the donor as Dhruvamitra. In this he may be right, but there is nothing to show that he had any connection with that Dhruvamitra whose name is found on Pāñcāla coins.

possible only, if the seeming *u*-stroke is taken as accidental and the reading therefore can by no means be called certain. The third *akṣara* seems to be *gha*; *gha* at any rate is more probable than *ya*. The fourth letter can hardly be anything but *rā*, the thin curve to the left being accidental. The fifth *akṣara* is quite uncertain. — I am unable to make out any meaning of the four syllables.

¹ The context seems to require *varṣe*, and the reading *rṣe* is possible, if the stroke to the right on the top of the letter is considered to be accidental. The *me* is nearly effaced.

² Restore: *pra(pautreṇa)*.

³ Restore: *Pāṃcālīye(ṣu)* (?).

⁴ Banerji: *hāti*. I consider *pāti* more probable.

⁵ [In *patitaḥ* the two *ta* differ in writing from the other instances of this *akṣara* in the present inscription; cf. Banerji, op. cit., p. 108, 5 with note.]

⁶ [Cf. above p. 155, n. 1.]

<143o>*

§ 163

K 219

Fragmentary inscription on a slab of yellow sandstone from Mathurā, now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum (E 3). The place of discovery is not known.

TEXT

... .. vakasya Najika

Najika seems to be a personal name; compare the female name *Najā* in the Sāñci inscriptions List No 219 and 560.

124a

Facsimile: below p. 315

§ 164

K 122

Fragmentary inscription on a piece of stone which is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum (E 8). Nothing is known about its place of discovery.

R. D. Banerji edited the inscription Ep. Ind. 10. 1909/10, p. 121 No 20 + pl. 3. Lüders corrected the reading JRAS 1912, p. 160f.

TEXT

1 ///[paṇa]śat[a]¹///
 2 ///m-aṣṭaśata 100 8 gandhe² ... ///
 3 ///.. [aṣṭ]a³ ///

Too little is left of the inscription to make out its real purport. The repetition of *aṣṭaśata* in numerical symbols leaves no doubt that it means 108, not 800. Similarly [paṇa]śata, if that is the true reading, may denote 105. Perhaps the inscription contained a list of sums to be spent for the provision of some religious or charitable establishment. In that case the words of the second line might be translated:

... one hundred and eight – 108 – for perfume ...

¹ Banerji read only *tata*, but the last but one *akṣara* is certainly *śa*. The [ṇa] is not quite certain.

² Banerji: *gandhi*, but the vowel-sign is *-e*.

³ Banerji: *puṣ[ṭa]*. It must be admitted that the first *akṣara* may be read as *pu*, but it may just as well be the sign for the initial *a*, as exactly the same sign, with addition of a small horizontal stroke at the end of the vertical, undoubtedly denotes initial *ā* in § 15: L. 56 [cf. above p. 46f., n. 9].

The subscript *-[ṭ]a* of the second *akṣara* is not certain [and may be read also as subscript *-pa*].

Regarding the two just mentioned *akṣaras* in addition to the traces which are left of the following one, Lüders noted on the margin of his manuscript:] *puṣpañ*...

But [if we assume the reading [aṣṭ]a as given in the text above] it is not quite impossible that the following two *akṣaras* were again *śata*.

<124z>

Facsimile: below p. 315

§ 165

K 163

Inscription on the lower part of an image¹, perhaps from Mathurā, now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum (J 41).

TEXT

ya[p]asa —²

No sense can be discerned.

<149q>*

§ 166

K 231

Fragmentary inscription on a piece of red sandstone, probably from Mathurā, now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum (J 50).

TEXT

... .. ḥ savihito

No sense can be discerned.

125e

Facsimile: below p. 316

§ 167

G 4

Fragmentary inscription on a pedestal of yellow [or red³] sandstone in the Lucknow Provincial Museum (J 55). Nothing is known about its place of discovery.

It was edited by R. D. Banerji, Ep. Ind. 10. 1909/10, p. 121 No 21 + pl. 3.

TEXT

///.. ḥ⁴ Buddhadevasya⁵ kuṭumbinīye Buddhaprati[m]ā

TRANSLATION

The image of Buddha (is a gift) of, the housewife of Buddhadeva.

¹ [On the reverse of the impression there are red stains which seem to indicate that the image is made of red sandstone.]

² [In front of the first letter a sign resembling a little angle pointing downwards is to be seen, and the last *akṣara* is followed by a short horizontal stroke. The reading of the second letter is not quite clear and it seems not impossible that it was meant as *ma*.]

³ [There are red stains on the reverse of the estampage, apparently from the stone itself.]

⁴ The *visarga* was not noticed by Banerji. Traces of the preceding *akṣara* are visible.

⁵ There is a slanting stroke to the left above the first *akṣara* which must be accidental.

92a

Facsimile: below p. 316

§ 168

Ś 4

Fragmentary inscription on a piece of a coping stone in the Lucknow Provincial Museum (J 475). Nothing is known about the place of discovery of the sculpture, but as it consists of red sandstone it probably came from Mathurā.

The inscription was edited by R. D. Banerji, Ep. Ind. 10. 1909/10, p. 118 No 12 + pl. 2.

TEXT

Gotiputrasa Ūtarasa sova[n].¹///

TRANSLATION

(The gift of) the goldsmith Ūtara (*Uttara*), the son of a Gotī (*Gauptī*).

<149m>*

§ 169

K 229

Inscription on the fragment of a coping stone, presumably from Mathurā, now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum (J 513).

TEXT

.... [pra]tiṣ[ṭh]itaḥ [sa]²

TRANSLATION

... .. set up

There is nothing to show that the stone came from a Jaina sanctuary. The inscription dates probably from post-Kuṣān times.

<149o>*

§ 170

G 16

Fragmentary inscription on a piece of a door-jamb of red sandstone, probably from Mathurā, now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum (J 534).

¹ Restore: *sova[n] (īkasa)*.

² The inscription, which seems to have been engraved with little care, is much defaced and the reading conjectural. In a list of the inscriptions drawn up for the Catalogue of the Museum, Mr. Banerji read, apparently from the stone itself, *huti kṣitasa*. The first *akṣara* is probably *pa*, the small slanting line at the top of the right bar being caused by erosion just as in the following letters; the subscript *-ra*, which Banerji took to be the *u*-sign, is only very faintly visible. The third *akṣara* can hardly be *kṣi*. It looks like *ṣi*, but it is just possible that there was a subscript *-ṭha*. The second and the fourth *akṣara* are certain, and so is the *visarga*. The *sa* is doubtful.

TEXT

... . . . [rppinḍaṭṭa]kuṭumbinaḥ¹ putraḥ

TRANSLATION

... the son of the householder ... rppinḍaṭṭa (?) ...

⟨124m⟩

Facsimile: below p. 316

§ 171

K 132

Fragmentary inscription on a piece of an umbrella of red sandstone, presumably from Mathurā, now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum (J 664).

TEXT

1 ///ni[tata] .. si[dahath].²///
2 ///.. [ya]khace.ik[a]syā³ v[adhū]⁴///
3 ///[rya] [ti]niyā [kha]///

The reading of the fragment is too doubtful to admit of a translation. The inscription seems to have recorded the gift of the umbrella by some female person who was characterized as a daughter-in-law and wife, though it must be borne in mind that the second *akṣara* of *v[adhū]* is conjectural and that the traces of the letters before *[ti]niyā* are not much in favour of restoring *dharmapatiniyā*. Unfortunately I cannot even restore the name in the second line which may have been the name of the father-in-law of the donatrix. *Yakhaceṭikasya* or *-ceḍikasya*, corresponding to Sk. *Yakṣaceṭakasya*, would be satisfactory as far as the meaning is concerned, but the fourth *akṣara* can hardly have been *ṭi* or *ḍi*.

3. Antiquities in the Indian Museum, Calcutta

⟨80b⟩

Facsimiles: below p. 316

§ 172

K 88

Fragmentary inscription on the pedestal of an image of a seated Bodhisattva from Mathurā, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (N.S. 4143). The place of discovery is not stated.

¹ The reading of the first three *akṣaras* is doubtful.

² In this line only the letters *ni* and *si* may be called certain.

³ The vertical stroke above the *[ya]* is not visible on the back of the estampage and therefore probably accidental. [The last but one *akṣara* may be meant as *kā*.]

⁴ [The first letter may be read as *v[ā]*.]

The inscription was noticed ASI Ann. Rep. 1922/23, p. 168 + pl. 39e (the image), ditto, 1923/24. 1926, p. 231¹, and subsequently edited by D. R. Sahni, Ep. Ind. 19. 1927/28, p. 66 No 3 + pl.

TEXT

1 mah[ā]r[ā][j]āsa² d[e]va[p](utrasa)³ [Ka](ni)[śka]sa⁴ [sa]m⁵ [4]⁶ h[e 4]⁷
 di [10 4]⁸ (etasyām)⁹ p[u]rv[ā]yam¹⁰ s[ā]rthavahāsa Bha-
 2 vaśir[isa]¹¹ i [n]isa [k](u)t[u]bin[iye] Dha[ṇya]bhavaye¹²
 ttadhanya¹³

TRANSLATION

In the year 4 of *mahārāja devaputra* Kanīśka, in the 4th (month) of winter, on the 14th day, on this date, by Dhanyabhavā (*Dhānya-bhavā*), the . . . of the caravan merchant Bhavaśiri (*Bhavaśrī*), the housewife of . . . ni

Owing to the deplorable state of the inscription, the reading of the date is not absolutely reliable and I fail to see the meaning of the syllables

¹ The inscription was noticed also, as stated by D. R. Sahni, in Ann. Progr. Rep. of the Superintendent, Arch. Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1917°, p. 9. The Report is not accessible to me.

² The word is pretty clear in the photolithograph in the Ep. Ind. Judging from the estampage, the left corner of the stone is now broken off causing the loss of *ma* and the left half of *h[ā]*. [The top of the *sa* is inclined to the left; cf. the last *sa* in *s[ā]rthavahāsa*.]

³ The third letter transliterated above as *[p](u)*, which is recognizable in the photolithograph, has now completely disappeared.

⁴ Sahni read only *sa*. According to the estampages, the preceding *akṣara* is undoubtedly *śka*. [The subscript *-ka* is indistinct.] The second letter of the name is illegible. What is left of the first *akṣara* can hardly have been part of *hu*, but it may have been the cross-bar of *ka*. The reading *Kanīśkasa* is therefore probable.

⁵ Sahni: *sa*, but the *anuvāra* is quite distinct.

⁶ The upper portion of the numerical symbol is preserved. It cannot have been 30, as stated in the ASI Ann. Rep. 1923/24, p. 231. It may have been 4 or 40. If the reading *Kanīśkasa* is accepted, it has, of course, to be taken as 4.

⁷ The figure was not read by Sahni. As a slanting up-stroke is visible, the figure appears to have been 4.

⁸ Sahni reads 10 9, but the remains of the second figure point to its having been 4 [or 6].

⁹ The word is illegible. Sahni restored *asyām*, but there are probably three *akṣaras* missing.

¹⁰ Sahni: *purvāyam*. The *ya* certainly had no *ā*-sign.

¹¹ Sahni: *Bhavaśa* . . . The *i*-sign of *śi* is certain, and the following *akṣara* is probably *ri*, although the *i*-sign is only faintly visible.

¹² This is Sahni's reading which agrees with the photolithograph. In the three estampages before me only *vaye* is faintly visible.

¹³ Sahni: [*dānaṃ Bodhisa*]co [*ya*]d-attra p[u]ṇya[m] ta[d-bhavatu]. In the estampages as well as in the photolithograph only the three syllables given above are legible and they are quite distinct.

which I read as *ttadhanya*, but Sahni's restoration of the end of line 2 is quite impossible as the phrase *yad atra puṇyaṃ tad bhavatu* etc. is never found in inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇ times, but occurs first in the Gupta period.

⟨92b⟩

Facsimile: below p. 316

§ 173

Ś 11

Fragmentary inscription on a piece of carved coping stone from Mathurā, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (N. S. 4153). The place of discovery is not stated (cf. ASI Ann. Rep. 1923/24. 1926, p. 232).

The inscription was edited by Ramaprasad Chanda, ASI Ann. Rep. 1922/23, p. 166f. + fig. 2. The stone is figured *ibid.*, pl. 37b—c. As R. Chanda states, the fragment is of red sandstone.

TEXT

///ya dānaṃ///

TRANSLATION

The gift of

The characters indicate pre-Kṣatrapa date.

⟨35b⟩

Facsimile: below p. 317

§ 174

G 17

Fragmentary inscription on the pedestal of a seated Buddha in grey sandstone from Mathurā, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (N. S. 4154). The inscription seems to have consisted of three lines, but only the first word of the first line is legible at present.

It was edited by Ramaprasad Chanda, ASI Ann. Rep. 1922/23, p. 168f. + pl. 39d, and noticed again ASI Ann. Rep. 1923/24. 1926, p. 232.

TEXT

1 maharājarādhirāja¹ sa[ṃ]²

2 ma

3ṣ.

As the inscription is in Gupta characters, it may have been dated in the reign of one of the Gupta emperors.

¹ Read: *-rājādhirāja*.

² [The first two lines originally consisted of about 35 *akṣaras* as is indicated by the preserved upper parts of some letters and by the *sa[ṃ]* which seems to have been the last *akṣara* of the first line.]

〈143m〉

Facsimile: below p. 317

§ 175

K 217

Fragmentary inscription on the pedestal of an image in grey sandstone from Mathurā, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (N. S. 4158). The inscription was noticed ASI Ann. Rep. 1923/24. 1926, p. 232.

TEXT

- 1 siddha[m] Saddhisya vadhu Matisena[sya]
 2 dhītā¹ Nagadasasya dharmapatini
 3²

TRANSLATION

Success! The daughter-in-law of Saddhi (*Sandhi?*), the daughter of Matisena, the first wife Nagadasa (*Nāgadāsa*)

〈92d〉

Facsimile: below p. 317

§ 176

Kṣa 30

Inscription on the coping stone of a railing cut out of a single slab of red sandstone from Mathurā, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (N. S. 4247). The place of discovery does not seem to be known.

The inscription was edited by Ramaprasad Chanda, ASI Ann. Rep. 1923/24. 1926, p. 101 + pl. 35, l, and noticed, ditto, p. 232. [With exception of the last two words the record was edited also by Lüders, Acta Orientalia 18. 1940, p. 39.]

TEXT

[Bo]dhilasa putreṇa³ Kauśikiputr[e]ṇa⁴ aśvavār[i]ke[ṇa]⁵ Bodhiyaś[e]ṇa bhagavato Mahātman[o]⁶ vedikā kārītā priyatā[m] bhagav[ā]⁷

¹ There is an *ā*-sign as well as an *u*-sign attached to the *ta*.

² [Of the third line only the upper portions of some letters are to be seen.]

³ Chanda: *putrena*. Here and in the rest of the inscription no diacritic signs have been used by him in his transcript.

⁴ [The *i*-sign of *kī* is faint but certain. At the lower part of the *akṣara* there is a short stroke slanting to the left.]

⁵ The last *akṣara* is probably meant for *na*, although the right half of the top-line of the letter is not visible and the bottom-line is blurred. [At first sight the letter looks like *ne*.]

⁶ There is a small stroke attached to the right of the middle-line of the *na* which makes the reading *no* certain.

⁷ It is not impossible that *v[ā]* was followed by a small *n*.

TRANSLATION

The railing of the holy Noble-souled One has been caused to be made by the trooper¹ Bodhiyaśa (*Bodhiyaśas*), the son of Bodhila (and) the son of a Kauśikī. May the Holy-One be pleased.

There is absolutely nothing in the decoration of the railing to indicate the religious character of the building to which it belonged, but R. Chanda is probably right in inferring from the term *bodhi*, forming part of the name of the donor as well as of his father, that they were Buddhists and that accordingly the railing was a Buddhist monument. It is true, the designation of Buddha as *bhagavat mahātman* is most unusual and the concluding benedictory phrase has not yet been found with reference to him in inscriptions, but in support of R. Chanda's conjecture it may be alleged that in the Mahāvvyutpatti 1, 29 *mahātman* is enumerated among the names of Buddha.

⟨138a⟩*

§ 177

Inscription on the pedestal of an image in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (N. S. 4965). The pedestal was purchased for the Museum. Nothing is known about its place of discovery.

In ASI Ann. Rep. 1924/25. 1927, p. 255 the stone is enumerated among "Sculptures of the Old Mathurā School of Art". The inscription appears to be a modern forgery. Many signs are no letters at all, and the reading is therefore very uncertain.

TEXT

1 savatsare 5 .. va | 1 diva .. 8 .. gijāvasya dhita .. mu
2 cchi .. ṇaye eghe bodimā

I deem it not worth while to attempt an interpretation of this bungle.

⟨85c⟩

Facsimile: below p. 318

§ 178

Kṣa 12

Fragmentary inscription on a broken slab from Mathurā, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (N. S. 6482).

¹ [Cf. Lüders, loc. cit.]

A short notice of the inscription was published by Hirananda Sastri (and Ramaprasad Chanda), ASI Ann. Rep. 1925/26. 1928, p. 148.

TEXT

- 1 (.....) .ūvulasya¹ putrasya mahākṣatrapasya Ś[o]²///
 2 (.....) ti pārvato prāsād[o]³ sabh[āh] śīlāpa[tā]///
 3 (.....) .. tavīryo raṇe Rajūlaś=ca⁴ pi///
 4 (.....) .. [s].. sy=edam⁵=arcā⁶///

Although only a small portion of the text is preserved and a coherent translation is impossible, it can be confidently asserted that the inscription in wording and arrangement of the contents closely resembled the so-called Mōrā Well Inscription (§113: L. 14). There appears to have been four lines on the slab exactly as on the Mōrā slab. In both cases the donation was recorded in the first two lines in not quite correct Sanskrit. In both inscriptions the beginning is almost identical. There is the same uncertainty as in the Mōrā inscription whether the words 'of the *mahākṣatrapa* Ś[o](dāsa), the son of the (*mahākṣatrapa* Rāj)ūvula' form part of the date or of the description of the donor. The gift consists here of a stone palace, halls, and stone slabs, and it is hardly accidental that the palace is explicitly stated to have been built of stone, just as the temple in the Mōrā inscription, which there as an object of donation, is twice called *śaila*, 'made of stone'.

Like the last two lines of the Mōrā inscription, here also the last two lines are in pure Sanskrit and apparently metrical, -*tavīryo* constituting the conclusive, *raṇe Rajūlaś=ca pi* and (*ta*)*sy=edam=arcā* the beginning of a Pāda in the Upajāti metre.

From the few words that remain it is impossible to make out the sense of the verses, but there can be little doubt that Rajūla mentioned in line 3 is only another form of Rājūvula, the name of the *mahākṣatrapa*, which in the inscription on the Mathurā Lion Capital (CII 2,1, p. 30ff. No 15) also occurs as Rajula.

Whether the epithet -*tavīryo raṇe*, 'whose heroism ... in battle,' refers to Rajūla or another person, probably Śoḍāsa, whether *pi* is to be restored as *pi(tā)*, whether *arcā* is mentioned, as in the Mōrā Well Inscription, in connection with some statue that was set up, are questions that cannot be answered.

¹ Restore: (*mahākṣatrapasya* Rāj)ūvulasya or, possibly, (*Raj*)ūvulasya.

² Restore: Ś[o](dāsasya).

³ The reading *prāsāde* would be possible, the right half of the *o*-sign being blurred, but it is improbable.

⁴ The *ū*-sign does not seem to be quite the same as in the first line, but the reading is practically certain.

⁵ Probably to be restored as -[s]=(*ta*)*sy=edam=arcā*...

⁶ The true reading may be *ārcā*.

148

Facsimile: below p. 319

§ 179

G 12

Fragmentary inscription on the pedestal of a standing statue of which only the feet remain, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The place where the statue was found is not known, but it originates apparently from Mathurā.

The inscription was edited by Rajendralala Mitra, JASB 39, 1. 1870, p. 129 No 12 + pl. 5, by Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 187 No 19 + pl., by Fleet, CII 3. 1888, p. 280 No 74 + pl. 42B, by Lüders, Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 156 No 43.

TEXT

- 1 deya[dha]rmo=yaṃ Śākyabhikṣor=Dharmadāsaḥ ya-
 2 d=attra puṇyaṃ tan=mātāpittroḥ¹ sarvasatvānāṃ ca²
 3 (... ...)

TRANSLATION

This is the pious gift of the Śākya monk Dharmadāsa. What merit there is in this (gift), (let) it (be for the attainment of supreme knowledge) by (his) parents and all sentient beings.

The writing is that of the Gupta period.

4. Pedestal of a Statue
 in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay

43

Facsimile: below p. 319

§ 180

K 39

Inscription on the pedestal of a large statue of a standing Buddha of which only the feet and part of the surrounding sculpture have been preserved. Nothing is known about the place of discovery.

It is said to have belonged to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji and was formerly kept in the Library of Bombay University. It is now in the

¹ There is no reason why the *n*- should be considered to have been omitted first and added afterwards as assumed by Fleet. On the other hand I am sure that the *visarga* has actually been inserted afterwards.

² Fleet: *cā*, but there is no *ā*-sign. There may have been one more letter at the end of the line, but this is not certain. In analogy to similar inscriptions we should expect something like *anuttarajñānāvāptaye=stu* in the conclusion of the sentence, and Fleet is of the opinion that these words stood in a third line which was cut away, apparently in trimming the stone for some building purpose.

Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. As the inscription closely resembles the Buddhist votive inscriptions of Mathurā, I here provisionally classed it among them.¹

It was edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, JBORS 20 (1897—1900). 1902, p. 269f.

TEXT

- 1 [mahārāja]sya Hūveṣkasya² devaputrasya sa 40 5 va 3³ di 10 5 etasyā⁴
purvayā⁵ upāsikāye
- 2 Khvasicāye bhagavato⁶ Śakyamune apratimasya pratimā pratisthā-
pitā Ālikāyām Rośikavihāre
- 3 ātmanasya ārogyadakhīṇa mātāpitina⁷ bhaṭārikāye Ś[am]aṇikamātare
Śamaṇikāye Jīvakasya Jivakamatu⁸
- 4 sarvasatvānaṃ ca hitas[u]khārtha —

TRANSLATION

In the year 45 of *mahārāja* Hūveṣka *devaputra*, in the 3rd (month) of the rainy season, on the 15th day, on this date, an image of the holy incomparable Śakyamuni (*Śākyamuni*) was set up at Ālikā in the Rośikavihāra by the female lay-worshipper Khvasicā for the gift of health to herself (and) for the welfare and happiness of her parents, of her mistress, of the mother of Śamaṇikā (*Śramaṇikā*), of Śamaṇikā (*Śramaṇikā*), of Jivaka, of the mother of Jivaka, and of all sentient beings.

5. Stone in the Patnā Museum

⟨93a⟩

Facsimile: below p. 319

§ 181

Inscription on a stone discovered at Mathurā, now in the Patnā Museum. The place of discovery does not seem to be known.

It was edited by N. G. Majumdar, IH Q 2.1926, p. 441 ff. + pl.

¹ [Cf. Lüders, List, p. 5, n. 1.]

² Bhandarkar: *Hūviṣkasya*, but the second *akṣara* is distinctly *ve*.

³ There are vertical bars at both ends of the three horizontal lines denoting the figure.

⁴ Bhandarkar: *etasya*, but the *ā*-stroke of the last *akṣara* is distinct.

⁵ Bhandarkar: *purv(ā)ya*. Here again the *ā*-stroke of *yā* is distinct.

⁶ [At the top of the *ga* there is a long stroke slanting to the right which the author apparently took to be accidental. By fault of the engraver the right limb of the *o*-sign is written exactly like an *i*-sign.]

⁷ Bhandarkar: *māt[ā]pitinaṃ*, but the *anusvāra* is not visible.

⁸ Bhandarkar: *-mātu*. There is no *ā*-stroke on the *ma*.

TEXT

[[[ma]m[i]trasa putrasa r[año]¹ Viṣṇum[i]trasa² dhitu I[m]dragibhadrāy[e]³ dh[ā]t[i]ye Gotam[i]ye⁴ Mitrāye dānaṃ +⁵

TRANSLATION

The gift of Mitrā, a Gotamī (*Gautamī*), the nurse of Iṃdragibhadrā (*Indrāgnibhadrā*), daughter of king Viṣṇumitra (*Viṣṇumitra*), the son of ... mamitra.

Majumdar, who takes *dhātī* in the sense of mother, considers Gotamī Mitrā to have been called the mother of Iṃdragibhadrā and daughter of King Viṣṇumitra. It is true, Sk. *dhātrī*, generally 'nurse', is used in Yājñavalkya 3, 82 for a woman who is with the child⁶, and Hemacandra, Anekārthasaṃgraha 2, 444f. followed by Medinikara, assigns to *dhātrī* the meaning *jananī*, but in the example quoted by Mahendra, *dhātrī* is a woman giving a child the breast.⁷ In Pali *dhātī* is always 'nurse', and in the same meaning the word occurs also in Aśoka's fourth Pillar edict.

I doubt very much whether *dhātrī* was ever used instead of *mātr* when mere maternal relationship was meant, and I think that also for another reason *dhātī* has to be taken here in the ordinary sense. It is quite unusual in the inscriptions that a female donor should record the name of her daughter, and it is extremely improbable that *Mitrā*, if she was the mother of Iṃdragibhadrā, should have done so without stating whose wife she was. In my opinion, Mitrā can only have been the nurse of Iṃdragibhadrā, who was the daughter of King Viṣṇumitra. She was apparently a respectable person and, as shown by her epithet *Gotamī*, of Brahmanical descent.

King Viṣṇumitra is probably identical with Viṣṇumita, who is known from a coin found in Rohilkhand.⁸

¹ The first *akṣara* may be read as *r[ā]*.

² Majumdar: *Viṣṇumitrāsa*. The length of the *-i* seems to be indicated by the curve attached to the left bar of the upper part of the *ma*.

³ Majumdar: *Īdragibhadāye*. The fourth dot of the *i*-sign is very faint. I am convinced that the four dots which only appear as the first syllable of the word *Indra* (*Iṃdra*) represent everywhere *im*, not the initial *ī*. The subscript *-r* of *dra* is not certain, but probable.

⁴ Here also the third *akṣara* may be *mī*.

⁵ At the end of the inscription there is a symbol the meaning of which will be discussed in the following text.

⁶ *punar dhātrīm punar garbham ojas tasya pradhāvati*.

⁷ *dhātrīstanyanīpānavardhītavapuḥ*.

⁸ Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India* 1891, p. 84 + pl. 7, 21.

The elaborately carved symbol, which appears at the end of the inscription, has been ingeniously explained by Majumdar as the word *th[am]bh[o]* written in an ornamental fashion. But I doubt whether this interpretation can be upheld. The circle with the dot in the centre looks like the letter *tha*, but the scrollwork to the right bears hardly any resemblance to the letter *bha* of the time to which the inscription belongs, to say nothing of the *o*-sign, which can be made out only by a considerable stretch of imagination. The rather large space which separates the symbol from *dānam* is another point that speaks against the attempt to connect it with the text. As long as no monogram formed by letters has turned up in another inscription, I think it will be safer to regard the symbol as a simple auspicious mark. A mark of this kind, although far less ornamental, is engraved also at the end of the inscription on a Jaina Āyāgapāṭa (List No 107), and in a Buddhist inscription at Sāñcī (List No 541) the text is surrounded by four sacred symbols.

In the absence of all information about the origin of the stone, it is impossible to decide whether the donation was made to a Buddhist or a Jaina sanctuary.

6. Stone Slab in the British Museum, London

23

Facsimile: below p. 318

§ 182

Inscription on a sculptured stone slab in the British Museum, London. Nothing seems to be known about the origin of the stone, but the characters, the language, and the date of the inscription leave little doubt that it comes from the region about Mathurā.¹

The inscription was edited by Lüders, Ep. Ind. 9. 1907/08, p. 239—241 No 1, with two plates showing the whole stone and the inscription.

TEXT

1 siddha[m]² maharājasya deva[pu](trasya)

2 Kāṇṣkasya savatsare [10]

¹ [Cf. Lüders, List, p. 5, n. 1. — Mr. D. Barrett, Dept. of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum, kindly informed the editor as follows: Museum Reg. Nr.: 1887, 7—17, 53; accession year: 1887; donor: Sir Alexander Cunningham; provenance: Mathurā; Sikri sandstone; height of piece: 15—7/10 inches.]

² The *anusvāra* is indistinct, because it is crossed by the line forming the base of the sculpture.

- 3 gri 2 di 9 etaye purvay[e]¹
 4 [u]tarāyaṃ Na[va]mikāyaṃ² hā-
 5 [rmya]n=[d]ata[m] priyatām devi grām[ena]³

TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 10 of *mahārāja devaputra* Kāṇiṣka, in the 2nd (month) of summer, on the 9th day, on this date, the temple was presented in the northern Navamikā(?). May the goddess be pleased with the village.

Hārmya, which in the same spelling is found in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka 6, 6, 2, apparently denotes a small temple, and from the benediction at the end of the inscription it may be inferred that it was dedicated to a goddess by some villagers. The sculpture at the top of the stone shows a woman and a man sitting on a bench. Over the head of the man there appears something which probably is the mutilated head of a cobra, and as the stone is broken off immediately above the head of the woman, it is quite possible that she also wore the typical badge of a Nāgi. May we suppose that the female person represents the goddess mentioned in the benediction and that she was a Nāgi? That shrines were built for the worship of Nāgas is known from several Mathurā inscriptions.⁴

As regards the difficult words *[u]tarāyaṃ Na[va]mikāyaṃ*, I adhere to my opinion that they cannot be part of the date. They cannot mean 'on the following (i. e. intercalated) ninth lunar day', since, as pointed out by Kielhorn, *uttara* is never used in the sense of *adhika* or *dvitīya*, nor does the suggestion of Hultsch convince me to take *uttara* in the sense of *ucyamāna*, *upari-likhita*, 'above-mentioned'. There is, moreover, no reason why the statement of the day should have been repeated after *etaye purvay[e]*. It appears far more probable to me that *Na[va]mikā* denotes the locality where the temple was erected, though I admit that it sounds rather strange as the name of a place.

¹ The *e*-sign is very faint, and the correct reading may possibly be *purvaya* or *purvayam*.

² The two convergent side-lines of *va* are not very distinct, just as in the letter in line 3, and there appears a vertical in the middle which makes the *akṣara* look almost like *na*. But this line is far too thin to really form part of the letter and must be accidental. The reading of the word may be called certain. [At first sight the second letter looks like an initial *u*. — Cf. Lalitavistara 24, 136. There occurs a *devakumārikā* of the western quarter who is called Navamikā.]

³ I formerly read *grā[masya]*, but what gives the last sign the appearance of *śya* seems to be due only to flaws in the stone. I now prefer to read *grām[ena]*, although the *e*-stroke of *m[e]* is not quite distinct and the *[ṇa]* has to be taken as a cursive form of the letter.

⁴ [Cf. below, Index of Miscellaneous Terms, s. v. Nāga.]

7. Antiquities lost

138

Facsimile: below p. 320

§ 183

Fragmentary inscription on the back of a small Buddha statue from Mathurā. The image seems to be lost now.

The inscription was published by Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 188 No 25 + pl. It is edited here from Dowson's facsimile.

TEXT

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | .. ¹ bhagavato Śākyamunīsyā ² [pra] ³ ... ⁶ |
| 2 | t[iṣ]ṭhavi ⁴ masaravi .. hare ⁵ dasa |
| | |

A translation of the inscription is impossible. All that can be said is that it recorded the setting up of an image of the holy Śākyamuni. The script is that of the Kuṣāṇ period.

145

Facsimile: below p. 320

§ 184

Fragmentary inscription on a Buddha statue from Mathurā, which seems to be lost at present.

The inscription was published with a facsimile by Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 188 No 26 + pl.

TEXT

- 1 (...) ⁷ prathitāyaśaṅgasyā[ry]asatvottamasya Dharmāśokena bhaktyā pratikṛti///

¹ The facsimile shows an isolated *śa* or *śra* in the beginning.

² The second *akṣara* looks like *kra*, but is certainly meant for *kya*. The fourth letter would seem to be *vi*.

³ The *pra* is incomplete.

⁴ The beginning of the second line is probably to be restored as (*vimāṇa pra*)-*t[iṣ]ṭhavi*, the first syllable of *pratiṣṭhā* being written at the end of the first line. The *i*-sign of *t[i]* and the upper part of *[ṣ]ṭha* are indistinct.

⁵ Dowson read: *masare vihare*, but in the facsimile there is some letter [*ta*?] between *vi* and *hare*.

⁶ At the right end of the inscription the facsimile shows some more writing which in the original perhaps was engraved on the proper left side of the stone. It consists of three lines with two letters in each line; *putre* can be read in the first, *prat[i]* in the last line, while the letters in the middle line are illegible in the facsimile.

⁷ [In the facsimile the first sign at the beginning of line 1 looks like a cross surrounded by a circle. Below this sign the *pra* of *prathitā*- is written as a subscript letter.]

2 (...) re pratimā pratikṣāpitā yad=atra puṇyaṃ tad=astu mātāpitror= bhrātrṇ[ām]¹

No coherent translation is possible. The inscription as we have it is apparently only part of the original. It evidently recorded the setting up of an image of Buddha who is described as being 'of renowned fame and virtues, the best of the noble beings'. I am sure that also the words 'by Dharmāsoka through devotion an image...' are connected in some way with the description of the Buddha himself or of his image, although the context remains obscure. In the last sentence the merit of the gift was assigned to the parents and the brothers of the donor.

The writing is that of the Gupta period.

147

Facsimile: below p. 320

§ 185

G 11

Inscription on the pedestal of a small statue from Mathurā, which seems to be lost now. In the Hoernle collection there is an impression entirely spoilt by tracing the letters in ink.² It agrees exactly, even in bearing the same number, with the facsimile published by Dowson, when he edited the inscription JRAS 5. 1870, p. 188 No 24. The inscription was edited again by Lüders, Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 156 No 42.

TEXT

1 deyadharmoyam Śākyabhikṣoḥ Saṃgharakṣi-

2 tasya yad=attra puṇyaṃ³ tat=sar[v]a[s]at[vānām]⁴

TRANSLATION

This is the pious gift of the Śākya monk Saṃgharakṣita. What merit there is in this (gift), (let) that (be) for all sentient beings

The writing is that of the Gupta period.

¹ This is the reading of the facsimile which must be taken for what it is worth. Dowson read in the first line ...*prathitam yasa gunasyāgra sarvvothamasya*. The first word is probably to be corrected to ...*h prathitayaśogunasya*. In the second line Dowson wanted to restore *re* as: "(vi)hāre", which is probable. Instead of *pratikṣāpitā* the true reading is certainly *pratiṣṭhāpitā*.

² [The impression is lost now.]

³ The *anusvāra* is visible in the impression.

⁴ This was undoubtedly the original reading which in the impression and in Dowson's facsimile has been altered to something like *tatsartadatta*. Dowson read *tad bhavatu*... The inscription was probably continued on the lower rim of the pedestal.

149

Facsimiles: below p. 320

§ 186

G 13

Inscription on the pedestal of a statue from Mathurā which seems to be lost now. There is a rubbing in the Hoernle collection, but it is entirely spoilt by tracing the letters in ink.¹ It agrees in every detail with Dowson's facsimile, even in bearing the same number 18.

The inscription was published by Rajendralala Mitra, JASB 39, 1. 1870, p. 128f. No 11 + pl. 5, by Dowson, JRAS 5. 1870, p. 187 No 18 + pl., and edited again by Lüders, Ind. Ant. 33. 1904, p. 156 No 44.

It is edited here from the aforesaid reproductions.

TEXT

deyadharmo=yaṃ Śākyabhikṣor-bhadaṃnta²=Brahmasomasya yad=atra
puṇyaṃ³ tad=bhavatu sarvasatvānām anuttarajñānāvāptaye ||

TRANSLATION

This is the pious gift of the Śākya monk, reverend Brahmasoma. What merit there is in this (gift), let that be for the attainment of highest knowledge by all sentient beings.

The writing is that of the Gupta period.

125

Facsimile: below p. 320

§ 187

<⁴ Inscription on a railing pillar from Mathurā which seems to be lost now.

The following transcript of the author has been taken from his treatment of the inscription in CII 2, 2, 1, edited by E. Waldschmidt in collaboration with M. A. Mehendale.>

TEXT

- 1 ka[p].
- 2 bhūti[sa] (Vā)ts(i)-
- 3 putrasa sa
- 4 Dhanabhūtisa dāna[m] vedikā
- 5 toraṇāni ca ratanagr̥h[e] sa-
- 6 rvabudhapujāye sahā mātāpi-
- 7 tihī sahā [ca] catu[hī] pariśāhī

¹ [The impression is lost now.]

² The *anusvāra* is missing in Raj. Mitra's facsimile.

³ The *anusvāra* is missing in Dowson's facsimile and in the rubbing, but quite distinct in Raj. Mitra's facsimile.

⁴ [Cf. above Preface p. 9 with note 3.]

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arcā/// § 178: L. 85c, 4

⟨→ *ārcādeśam*⟩

-arṭha (?)

→ *sarvasatvāhitasukhārṭha (?)*

-arttham

→ *sarva[p]uddhapūjārt[th]a[m]*

-arthāṇ

→ pūjārthāṇ

→ sarvādulokhaprahānārtthāṇ

-artha

→ āyubalav(ṛ)d(dhy)artha

→ sarvasatvāhitasukhārtha

→ hitasukhārtha

-artham

→ hitasukhārtham

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-avaptaye

→ nirvānāvaptaye

⟨→ -avāptaye, anuttarajñāna-⟩

-avalam(bānām)

→ dharmāvalam(bānām)

-avāptaye

→ anuttarajñānāvāptaye

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⟨→ acāryana⟩

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⟨→ Mahātmano⟩

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-ānāndāsya

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-[i]ś[u]r[y]ata[ya] § 62: L. 128, A 2

⟨→ -aiśvāryatayam⟩

iṣ[ṭv]ā § 94: L. 149a, 6

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-uttarajñānāvāptaye

→ -anuttarajñānāvāptaye

(→ *Ūtarasa*
 → *Ūttarasya*)
-uttamasya
 → *āryasatvottamasya*
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udapān[am] § 98: 80 d, 4
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upajhāyena § 80: L. 97 b, 1
 (→ *upadhyāyasya*)
upaṭhapito § 65: L. 140, A
-upadesakānaṃ
 → *Mahopadesakānaṃ* (?)
upadhy[ā]yasya § 29: L. 52, 2
 (→ *upajhāyena*)
 (→ *-upādhyāyānāṃ, ācārya-*)
-upavane (?) § 65: L. 140, A
-upāśamāya
 → *sarvad(u)khopāśamāya*
upāsikā § 150: L. 24 a, 2
 (→ *upāsikāye*)
-upasthāyakasa
 → *abhyantropasthāyakasa*
-upādhyāyānāṃ
 → *ācāryopādhyāyānāṃ*
 (→ *upadhyāyasya*)
-upāsakasya
 → *Sākyopāsakasya*
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 (→ *Balānās(ya)*)
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 (→ *etasyām*)
etasya § 14: L. 45 a, 1; § 114: L. 14 a, 2;
eta[sya] § 76: L. 89 a, 1
 (→ *etasyām*)
etasyaṃ § 157: L. 79 b, 1; *etasya[m]*
 § 126: L. 41 b, 1; § 136: L. 31 b, 1; *or:*
-syā[m] § 27: L. 85, 1

etasyā § 180: L. 43, 1
 (→ *etasyām*)
etasyām § 15: L. 56, 1; *or:* *-syā[m]* § 27:
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etta purvāyā § 137: L. 149 b, 2
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śaiśvaryatayaṃ § 61: L. 141, A 2
ś[ai]ś[var]y[y]aṃ § 60: L. 127, A 2
 (→ *śiśuryataya*)
o[dakh]i . . . § 114: L. 14 a, 2
Oḍiyanakasya § 31: L. 62
Kakatiḥkānaṃ § 65: L. 140, A
Kachipasa § 83: L. 143 f
-kaṭiyā
 → *cetiyākaṭiyā*
 (→ *cetiyakuṭiyāṃ*)
Kaṭhikasa § 25: L. 98
Kaṇikkhasya § 102: L. 21 b, 1
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-kathikasya
 → *dharmakathikasya*
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 21 c, 1
 (→ *Kaṇikkhasya*)
 (→ *Kāṇi*°)
ka[p]. . . § 187: L. 125, 1
-karasya
 → *(kṣe)makarasya*
-karnṇa-
 → *Dadhikarnṇa-*
-kala- (= *-kāla-*)
 → *abhyatitakalagātānāṃ*
-kalam
 → *devakalam*
 (→ *devakulaṃ*)
kalavaḍ[ā] § 114: L. 14 a, 2
 (→ *kālavāḷasa*)
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 (→ *-kalagatānām, abhyatita-*)
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 (→ *kubhako*)
 (→ *kumbhako*)
 -*kuṭiyam*
 → *cetiyaḥkuṭiyam*
 kuṭu[bini]ye §85: L. 149i; [k](u)ṭ[u]-
 bin[iye] §172: L. 80b, 2
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 niye §15: L. 56, 2
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 -*kuṭumbinah*, ... [rppinḍaṭṭa (?)]- §170:
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 Kuṇikatevāsinā §139: L. 150, 3
 -*kuṇḍe*
 → *Śrikuṇḍe*
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 126, 1; [kuṃ]bh[ako] §48: L. 125t;
 [kumbha]k[o] §49: L. 125u
 (→ *ku*)
 -*kulam*
 → *devakulam*
 kule §15: L. 56, 1; k[u][e] §14: L. 45a, 2
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 (→ *kūṭumbi*°)
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 -*koṭhako*
 → *dārakoṭhako*
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 (→ *Kauṣikīputrena*)
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 (→ *Koṣikiye*)

K[ṣ]aṇḍamihi(ra-putrasya?) §30: L. 60,
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 kṣatrapa[sa] or: -[sya] §2: L. 125c, 1;
 (kṣat)r(apa)sa §118: L. 14d 3, 1
 (→ *mahākṣatrapa-*)
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 k[ṣ]āraṇika §79: L. 97c, 3
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 -*Kharn[ṇ]asya or: Vern[ṇ]a-* §15: L. 56, 2
 Khudāye §103: L. 13a
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 -*gaṇa*
Koṭeyagaṇa
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 -*gatapara*
 → *Śr(ī)gatapara*
 -*gatānām*
 → *abhyatitakalagatānām*
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 -*gaṇasya*
 → *prathitāyaśagaṇasya*
 -*guta*
 → *Vasaguta*||
 -*gutakāna*
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 L. 31a, 1; §136: L. 31b, 1
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 (→ *grī*)
 (→ *(grīṣma)m(āse)*)
 -*gr̥ham* §113: L. 14, 3
 -*gr̥he*
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 -*gotrena*
 → *Bhāradvāja-sagottrena*
 -*gotrena*
 → *Śeṅgrava-sagottrena*
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 (→ *grī*)
 (→ *gr̥māmāse*)

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 (→ *Budhaghoṣasya*)
 (→ *Bhadraghoṣa-*)

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 80d, 4; §99: L.80c, 3; 6; §102: L.
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 (→ *caturdiśe*)
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 (→ *cāturdiśe*)

[ca]turvi[m]śe or: -viśe §94: L.149a, 2/3
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 (→ *caturddiśe*)

C[ā]ndak[ā] or: C[a]ndak[a] §27: L.85, 4
 Cikkakasa §26: L.79, 1

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-ce .i kāsya

→ *yakhace .i kāsya*

[ce]ti[ya]kuṭiyam §157: L.79b, 2
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-chatraṇ
 → (*ya*)*ṣicchatraṇ*
 -chandogena
 → *Māṇacchandogena*

Jayadā[sa]sya §151: L.149g, 1
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 -Jayasenasya, bhadata- §20: L.99, 1
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 -jāta

→ *Sthāvaraajāta*

Jivakasya §31: L.62
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 -jñāndvāptaye

→ *-anuttarajñāndvāptaye*

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<*tehi?*

→ *tapi*

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-trāta-

→ *Śavātrāta-potriya* (= *Śiva-*)

tri[m]śe or: triśe §94: L.149a, 4

tri[śe] §30: L.60, 5

(→ *pacatṛiśasya*)

[t]repiṭakasya §24: L.38, 1

tre(piṭi)[kā]ye §24: L.38, 1

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-dakṣiṇāye

→ arogyadakṣiṇāye

-dakhīṇa

→ ārogyadakhīṇa

⟨→ -dakṣiṇāye, aroga-⟩

-(da)ṇḍanāyaka-

→ (mahāda)ṇḍanāyaka-

-daṇḍanāyakasya

→ mahadaṇḍanāyakasya

⟨→ -dāṇḍanāyakasya, maha-⟩

=[d]ata[m] § 182: L. 23, 5

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-datā-

→ Idradatā

→ Dharmadatasya

→ Dharmmadatasya

→ Nāgadatta-

→ Puśyada(tā*)

(da)[tta]h § 99: L. 80c, 3

Dattas(y)a § 37: L. 65; § 38: L. 139, 1

→ Dharmmadattasya

→ Nāgadattasya

→ Hakudatta-puttrasyaḥ

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da[nam] § 52: L. 125m; d[a]nam or:

d[e]nam § 60: L. 127, B; § 62: L. 128, B

⟨→ dāna-⟩

⟨→ d[ā]nnam (?)⟩

danadharmmo § 15: L. 56, 2

⟨→ deyaḍharma-⟩

-darśavīy(a)

→ Buddhadarśavīy(a)

-da(v)a(putrav)ihāre

→ mahārājada(v)a(putrav)ihāre

d[a]vaputrasya § 29: L. 52, 1

⟨→ devaputra-⟩

dasa (?) § 183: L. 138, 2

Dasasya § 84: L. 143g, 1

→ Nāgadasasya

⟨→ Dāsa-⟩

d[ā] or: d[i] § 12: L. 52a; § 14: L. 45a, 1

→ divase

-dākṣiṇāye

→ arogadākṣiṇāye

⟨→ -dakṣiṇāye, arogya-⟩

-dāṇḍanāyakasya

→ mahadāṇḍanāyakasya

⟨→ -(da)ṇḍanāyaka-, (mahā)-⟩

⟨→ -daṇḍanāyakasya, maha-⟩

dāna § 54: L. 125r; dān[a] or: dān[ā]

§ 90: L. 97e, 1; dān[a] § 157: L. 79b, 2

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[d]ā[nam] § 44: L. 125l; [dā]nam § 39:

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[dānam] § 36: L. 125y; § 60: L. 127,

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⟨→ dana-⟩

⟨→ dena-⟩

d[ā]nnam or: d[i]nnam § 35: L. 64, B1

-dāmasya

→ Bhattidāmasya

[D]ā[m]i[n]i . . . [i] ye § 23: L. 89c2,

dārakehi § 27: L. 85, 6

dā[ra]kkoṭhako § 98: L. 80d, 4

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→ Rṣidāsasya

→ Jayadāsasya

→ Dharmadāsasya

→ Buddhadāsa-

→ Saghadāsasya

→ Saṅghadāsasya

⟨→ Dasasya⟩

-dāsiye

→ Amohādāsiye

→ Bama(dā)[si]ye (?)

→ Buddhadāsiye

di § 15: L. 56, 1; § 24: L. 38, 1; § 31: L. 62;

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1; § 134: L. 12a, 1; § 172: L. 80b, 1;

§ 180: L. 43, 1; § 182: L. 23, 3; d[i] § 12:

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§28: L. 33; §37: L. 65; §42: L. 90;
§43: L. 91; §103: L. 13a; §154: L. 21a,
1; [d]i §32: L. 62a, 1; [di] §5: L. 88a,
1; §143: L. 125b, 2; §150: L. 24a, 1;
§157: L. 79b, 1

⟨→ *divase*⟩

ditu §68: L. 136

⟨→ *dhitu*⟩

d[i]nnaṃ or: d[ā]nnaṃ §35: L. 64, B 1

Dinnaye §103: L. 13a

-*dinnasya*

→ *Yasādinnasya*

dirvaṣe or:

divaṣe §73: L. 29a, 1

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[s]e §94: L. 149a, 3; diva(se) §177:
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d[i]va[s](e) §29: L. 59, 1; (di)[va]se
§162: L. 89b, 4; (di)[vas](e) §115: L.
82a, 2/3

⟨→ *dā*⟩

⟨→ *dī*⟩

⟨→ *de*⟩

→ *Paṇṣamāsadivase*

→ *Bhādravadadivase*

-*dīse*

→ *catudīse*

→ *caturddīse*

→ *cāturddīse*

-*dukkhaphrahānārthīhāṇ*

→ *sarvvādukkhaphrahānārthīhāṇ*

-*d(u)khopasāmāya*

→ *sarvād(u)khopasāmāya*

d[ṛ]śya §99: L. 80c, 3

d[e] or: d[i] §42: L. 90; §43: L. 91

⟨→ *divase*⟩

d[e]na or: d[a]na §51: L. 131

d[e]naṃ or: d[a]naṃ §60: L. 127, B;
§62: L. 128, B

⟨→ *dāna*⟩

d[e]yadharmaparit̐yāgen[a] §29: L. 52, 2

deyadharmoyam §8: L. 78c, 1; §67:

L. 146, 1; §185: L. 147, 1; §186: L.

149; deya[dha]rmo-yam §179: L. 148, 1

deryadharmaparit̐yāgen[a] §46: L.

126, 2

⟨→ *danadharmmo*⟩

⟨→ *devadharmaparit̐yāgena*⟩

⟨→ *devāddharmaparit̐yākena* or:

-*rrma*⟩

⟨→ *devvadharmapa(r)ī(tyāg)enaṃ*⟩

-*deva*-

→ *devasya*

→ *devo*

→ *-Aśvaderāśya*

→ *Jayadeva*-

→ *Dharmadevasya*

→ *Buddhadeva*-

→ *Rohadeva*-

→ *Īāsudeva*-

→ *Saṅghadeva*-

→ *Saṅghadevasa*

devakal[am] §99: L. 80c, 3

devakula[m] §98: L. 80d, 3; (de)[va]-
kulaṃ §99: L. 80c, 2

-*devakulikasya*

→ *Dadhikarṇṇaderakulikasya*

-*devagr(he)*

→ *śailadevagr(he)*

devadharm[m]apa[r]it̐yāgena §60: L.

127, A 2

⟨→ *deyadharmā*⟩

d[e]va[p](utrasya) §172: L. 80b, 1; [d](e)-

vaputrasya §126: L. 41b, 1

devaputrasya §30: L. 60, 2; §94: L. 149a,

1/2; §180: L. 43, 1; devaputr[ā]sya

§24: L. 38, 1; deva[pu](trasya) §182:

L. 23, 1; [d]evaputrasya §15: L. 56, 1;

(de)[va]putrasya §16: L. 80; (deva)-

[pu]tra(sya) §138: L. 149c, 1

→ *mahārajarājātīrājadevaputrasya*

→ *mahārājadevaputrasya*

→ *mah(ā)rājarājātīrājadevapu(tras-*

syā)

devaputro §97: L. 78b; §98: L. 80d, 1

devapūtrasya §31: L. 62

⟨→ *-da(v)a(putrav)ihāre, mahārāja*⟩

⟨→ *davaputrasya*⟩

Devarakṣi[t](asya) or: -[t](āye) §76:
L. 89a, 2

[de]va[la]ye (?) §73: L. 29a, 2

devasya §81: L. 23b, 2

dev[ā]ddharmaparit̐yā[k]ena or:

-*ddharma*- §62: L. 128, A 2

⟨→ *deyadharmā*⟩

-*devāye*

→ *Budhadevāye*

devi §182: L. 23, 5

Devilasya §34: L. 63; §93: L. 149z, 3

dev[o] §22: L. 149k, 4

⟨→ *devasya*⟩

[d]evvadharmapa(r)ī(tyāg)e[na]ṃ §61:
L. 141, A 2

⟨→ *deyadharmā*⟩

-*deśāṃ*

→ *ārcādeśāṃ*

Droṇalena §94: L. 149a, 4/5

dvā[d]aśar[ā]ttreṇa §94: L. 149a, 6

Dh[a]ñiv[ā]lasya or: Dhuñi- § 14: L. 45a, 2
 Dh[a]ñisiriya or: Dhuñi- § 14: L. 45a, 2
 -dhaṇya tta- § 172: L. 80b, 2
 Dha[ṇya]bhavaye § 172: L. 80b, 2
 Dhanabhūtiśa § 187: L. 125, 4
 Dhana[m]i(tra)[sa] § 17: L. 107b, 1
 Dhanava[t]iye § 24: L. 38, 2
 dhanasya § 21: L. 111, 3
 Dharma § 132: L. 143l
 dharmakathikasya § 35: L. 64, B 1
 Dharm[a]k[ā]sa or: Dharm[ā]k[ā]sa
 § 150: L. 24a, 1
 Dharmakena § 80: L. 97b, 1
 Dharmagutakāna § 150: L. 24a, 3
 [Dha]r[ma]datas[y]a § 36: L. 125y
 Dharmadāsasya § 179: L. 148, 1
 Dharma[d]ev[a]s[y]a § 44: L. 125l
 dharmapatini § 175: L. 143m, 2
 (dharmapa)ti[n]iya (?) § 143: L. 125b, 1;
 (dharmapa)ti[n]iā (?) § 171: L. 124m, 3
 (→ -dharmapatinya)
 -dharma-parityākena or: -rma-
 → devāddharma-parityākena
 -dharma-parityāgena, -naṃ
 → deydharma-parityāgena
 → devadharmapa(r)ī(tyāg)enam
 Dharmap[r]iṇas[y]a § 47: L. 137, b 2
 -dha(r)maśhitasya
 → satyadha(r)maśhitasya-
 Dharmahastika . . § 121: L. 14b, 1
 Dharm[ā]k[ā]sa or: Dharm[a]k[ā]sa
 § 150: L. 24a, 1
 dharmāvala[m] (bānām) § 79: L. 97c, 2
 Dharmāśokena § 184: L. 145, 1
 -dharmo-
 → deydharma-syaṃ
 Dharmadata[s]ya § 35: L. 64, A
 Dharmadattasya § 35: L. 64, B 1
 -dharm[apa]t[ny]a, //d- § 23: L. 89c, 2
 (→ dharmapatini-)
 -dharmma-parityāgena
 → deydharma-parityāgena
 → devadharmma-parityāgena
 -dharmmo
 → danadharmmo
 -dharmma-parityākena
 → devāddharma-parityākena or: -rma-
 dh[ā]t[i]ye § 181: L. 93a
 Dhāmaghoṣāye § 20: L. 99, 2
 -dhāra . . .
 → udadhasamadhāra . . .
 Dh[ā]rmavar[ma] § 65: L. 140, C
 dhita § 177: L. 138a, 1
 dhitā § 136: L. 31b, 1; dhi(tā) (?) § 74:
 L. 31a, 2; dhitā or:

dhitu § 175: L. 143m, 2; dhitu § 181:
 L. 93a; dhit[u] § 93: L. 149z, 2; dh[it]u
 § 17: L. 107b, 1
 → Brahāsvātimita(dh)itu
 (→ ditu)
 Dhuñiv[ā]lasya or: Dh[a]ñi- § 14: L. 45a, 2
 Dhuñi[s]iriya or: Dh[a]ñi- § 14: L. 45a, 2
 na-
 → nāñatra
 Nagadasasya § 175: L. 143m, 2
 [Na]ganandisya § 93: L. 149z, 1
 N[a]gapiyā or: N[ā]ga- § 150: L. 24a, 2
 (→ nāga-)
 Nagarakiyasya § 78: L. 149h
 Najika . . . § 163: L. 143o
 nanayat (= anunayāt?) § 99: L. 80c, 1
 -nandasya
 → Bhavanandasya
 -nandi-
 → Bhavanandi-prāvarikaputrāsya
 Nandibalaḥpramukhehi § 27: L. 85, 5/6
 -nandi[sya], . . . § 152: L. 135a, 1
 → Naganandisya
 → Buddhanandi(s)y(a)
 Namdāye § 2: L. 125c, 1
 namo § 19: L. 103; na[m]o § 162: L. 89b,
 1; [na]mo § 18: L. 94, 1
 Na[va]mikāyaṃ § 182: L. 23, 4
 (Na)huṣami(tra)sya (?) § 140: L. 150a
 Nāgadāt[as]a § 108: L. 102c
 Nāgadate[na] § 109: L. 102d; [N]ā[g]a-
 datena § 110: L. 102e
 Nāgadattasya § 157: L. 79b, 1
 N[ā]gapiyā or: N[a]ga- § 150: L. 24a, 2
 (nāgaṃ written:) nātā § 137: L. 149b, 5
 → nāgasya, . . .
 (→ Naga-)
 -nāgariya
 → (U)cenāgariya
 nāgasya § 102: L. 21b, 2
 [nā]g[en]dr[ā]sya § 27: L. 85, 2
 nāgo § 137: L. 149b, 6
 nāñatra § 65: L. 140, A
 nātā (= nāgaṃ) § 137: L. 149b, 5
 -nāpitasya
 → rājanāpitasya
 nā[ma] § 155: L. 135c, 2
 n(ā)[ma](n)[i] (?) § 65: L. 140, A
 -nāyaka-
 → mahadāṇḍa-, -dāṇḍanāyaka-
 → (mahāda)ṇḍanāyaka-
 Nāyasa § 101: L. 80f
 nā[h]ā[pa] (?) § 152: L. 135a
 niyataka § 65: L. 140, A

niyavaḍ[a]kisyā or: -vaḍ[u]- §102:
L. 21b, 3

nirvat[a]na or: -vat[ā]na §14: L. 45a, 2
[n]irvā[n]ā[va]ptayē[s]t[u] §29: L. 52, 2
[nirvva]tana §93: L. 149z, 1
nirvvarttanā §13: L. 149j, A2
nivarttana §140: L. 150a, 4
N[u]śāprijāyē §68: L. 136
[nai]ty[a]k[ā]tith[i]bhyaś §99: L. 80c, 6

pacatrisāsya §45: L. 40, 1

⟨→ paṃca, —⟩

pacanaḥ §65: L. 140, A

Pacenāgariya (= Uce-) §14: L. 45a, 2

paṃca §113: L. 14, 4

paṃcavirāṇam §113: L. 14, 2

⟨→ pacatrisāsya⟩

⟨→ paṇasata///⟩

-paṭā///

→ śilāpaṭā///

⟨→ -paṭto, śilā-⟩

paṭimā §119: L. 14d, 2; §144: L. 81a, 3

⟨→ pratimā-⟩

-paṭo

→ āyāgapāṭo

-paṭto

→ śilāpaṭto

⟨→ -paṭā///, śilā-⟩

[paṇa]śat[a]/// §164: L. 124a, 1

⟨→ paṃca, —⟩

paṭiṭhāpito §1: L. 125a, 1; [pa](tiṭhā-
pito) §17: L. 107b, 2

⟨→ pratiṣṭhāpita-⟩

patitaḥ §162: L. 89b, 10

-patita-

→ bhagnapatitaviśirnam

-patina

→ bakanapatina

→ (ma)na[pāka]patina (?)

-patini

→ dharmapatini

-patiniyā

→ (dharmapa)tinīyā

⟨→ -patnya, -dharmma-⟩

patimā §114: L. 14a, 3; (patimā) (?)
§139: L. 150, 1

⟨→ pratimā-⟩

(patis)t(āpitā) §114: L. 14a, 3

pa[t]i(ṭhāpita) §118: L. 14d 3, 2

⟨→ pratiṣṭhāpita-⟩

-patnya

→ -dharmmapatnya

⟨→ -patini, dharmma-⟩

⟨→ -(pa)tinīyā, (dharmma)-⟩

-payya-

→ Piṇḍapayya-putro

-para

→ Śr(i)gatapara

paramavapuṣā §113: L. 14, 4

parigahe §89: L. 97a, 2

parigrahe §80: L. 97b, 3; §86: L. 97d;

parig[r]a[he] §125: L. 143d; par[i]-

(gra)[h](e) §134: L. 12a, 2

⟨→ pratigrahe⟩

⟨→ prarigrhe⟩

-parityāka-

→ devāddharmaparityākena

-parityāga-

→ deyadharmaparityāgena

→ devadharmmaparityāgena

-parityāga-

→ deyadharmmaparityāgena

→ devvadharmapa(r)ī(ṭyāg)enam

pariśāhi §187: L. 125, 7

Parohaśāliko §26: L. 79, 1

paścimā §64: L. 82, 2

-[pāka]patina

→ (ma)na[pāka]patina (?)

Pāmcāliye(ṣu?) §162: L. 89b, 8

pāti . . . (?) §162: L. 89b, 9

pārvato §178: L. 85c, 2

-pāliyakena

→ Rājapāliyakena

⟨→ -vālasa, Budha-⟩

pāsādo §20: L. 99, 2

⟨→ prāsādo⟩

-piṭakasya

→ trepiṭakasya

-(piṭi)kāye

→ tre(piṭi)kāye

-[piṇḍaṭṭa]kuṭumbinaḥ, ...[r-p] (?)

§170: L. 149o

Piṇḍapayyaputro §137: L. 149b, 3

pitā §26: L. 79, 1; pi(tā?) §178: L. 85c, 3

[p]itāmaha(sya) §99: L. 80c, 2

Pitāmahāsya §81: L. 23b, 2

-pitina, mātā- §180: L. 43, 3

-p[i]t[i]na[m], [mā]ta- §73: L. 29a, 3

-pitihi, mātā- §1: L. 125a, 2; §24: L.

38, 2; §80: L. 97b, 1; §135: L. 13, 2

-pitihi, mātā- §187: L. 125, 6/7

-pitihi, mātā- §126: L. 41b, 3

-pitumadu ..

→ sapitumadu ..

-pitṛṇ[ā]m, mā[t]ā- §125: L. 143d

-[p]i[t]ṛṇa or: -ṇa, [māta]- §44: L. 125l

-pitṛṇam, mātā- §27: L. 85, 6; -p[it](tṛ-

ṇam?) , mātā- §29: L. 52, 2

-[p]i[t]ṛṇa or: -ṇa, [māta]- §44: L. 125l

-pi[t]tra, mātā- §78: L. 149h
 -pittro, mātā- §67: L. 146, 1/2
 -pittroḥ, mātā- §179: L. 148, 2
 pitramātrabha §4: L. 143c, 3
 -pit[r]in[ā], māt[ā]- §90: L. 97e, 1/2
 -pitroḥ, mātā- §184: L. 145, 2
 -piyā
 → Nāgapiyā
 (→ -priyāye, Nuśā-)
 puḥṣirīṇi §102: L. 21b, 2
 (→ puḥṣaraṇi-, ...)
 -puḥṣi
 → (Mā)nibhadrapuḥṣi
 puḥṣāye §90: L. 97e, 2; puḥṣāy[e] §44:
 L. 125l
 → sarvabudhapuḥṣāye
 (→ -puḥṣāye, ...)
 (→ puḥṣā-)
 puṇyaṃ §67: L. 146, 1; §78: L. 149h;
 §179: L. 148, 2; §184: L. 145, 2; §185:
 L. 147, 2; §186: L. 149; puṇya[m] §8:
 L. 78c, 1
 -putasa
 → Ānadaputasa or: Ānaṃda-
 -putāye
 → jīvaputāye
 -putra-
 → Mittravarmmaputra
 → Rudrilaputtrena
 putraḥ §170: L. 149o
 -pu(trakasya)
 → sapu(trakasya)
 putrasa §113: L. 14, 1; §181: L. 93a
 → Gotiputrasa
 → devaputrasa
 → (Vā)ts(i)putrasa
 putrasya §178: L. 85c, 1;
 -(pu)[t]ra[s](y)[a], ... §102: L. 21b, 3
 → devaputrasya
 → devaputrasya
 (→ devapūtrasya)
 → Vakamāhiraputrasya
 -putrāsya
 → Bhavanandipravarikaputrāsya
 putrena §61: L. 141, A1; §176: L. 92d;
 [p]utre[ṇa] §60: L. 127, A1;
 -pu[t]r[e]ṇa, ... §115: L. 82a, 4/5
 → Kauśikīputrena
 → Jayadevaputrena
 → Bhārgavīputrena
 (→ -putrena, Rudrila-)
 putrena §62: L. 128, A1
 putrehi §27: L. 85, 5
 -putro
 → Kuṣāṇaputro

→ devaputro
 → Pinḍapayyaputro
 → Viravṛddhiputro
 (→ -pūtāsa, Imḍrasama-)
 (→ -pūtrasyaḥ, Gomindra-)
 (→ -pūtrasya, deva-)
 -[p]uddhapūjārt[th]a[m]
 → sarva[p]uddhapūjārt[th]a[m]
 purvayam §136: L. 31b, 1; purva[y](am)
 or: -[y](e) §126: L. 41b, 1
 purvayā §180: L. 43, 1; [p]u[rva]yā §29:
 L. 52, 1
 purvaye §114: L. 14a, 2; purvay[e]
 §182: L. 23, 3; purva[y](e) or: -[y](am)
 §126: L. 41b, 1
 p[u]rv[ā]yam §172: L. 80b, 1
 purvāyā §150: L. 24a, 1
 purvāyā §137: L. 149b, 2; [pu]rvāyā
 §138: L. 149c, 2
 purvvayam §30: L. 60, 5; [p]urvvayam
 §32: L. 62a, 1
 purv[v]āyam §102: L. 21b, 2
 purvvāy[e] §35: L. 64, A
 puvayā §134: L. 12a, 1
 puvāyam §14: L. 45a, 1
 (→ pūrva-)
 Puśaha[th]iniye §126: L. 41b, 1
 Puśyada(tā*) (?) §136: L. 31b, 1
 puḥṣaraṇi §64: L. 82, 2; [p](uḥṣa)raṇi
 §64: L. 82, 1/2
 puḥṣaraṇiyyā §137: L. 149b, 5
 -puḥṣaraṇinām
 → yamaḍapūḥṣaraṇinām
 puḥṣaraṇi §98: L. 80d, 4
 (→ puḥṣirīṇi)
 -puḥṣāye
 → sarva(bu*)[dha]puḥṣāye (?)
 pūjāya §89: L. 97a, 1
 -pūjāye
 → sarvabudhapūjāye
 pūjārtham §81: L. 23b, 2
 -pūjārt[th]a[m]
 → sarva[p]uddhapūjārt[th]a[m]
 (→ pūjā-)
 -pūtāsa
 → Imḍrasamapūtāsa
 -pūtrasyaḥ
 → Gomindrapūtrasyaḥ
 -pūtrasya
 → devapūtrasya
 (→ -puta-; -putra-; putra-)
 p(ūrvā)[yā]m (?) §157: L. 79b, 1
 pūr[vv]ayam §27: L. 85, 1; pūr[vv]ay[am]
 or:
 pūr[vv]ay[e] §41: L. 89, 2

pū[r]vv[ā]yaṃ § 74: L. 31a, 1
 pūrvvāyāṃ § 15: L. 56, 1; § 94: L. 149a, 4
 (→ *purva-*)
 (→ *purvva-*)
 (→ *puva-*)
 Poṭhayaśa[ka](sa) § 18: L. 94, 1
 -*potriya*
 → *Savātrātapotriya* (= *Siva-*)
 -*pautrasyaḥ*
 → *Hakudattapautrasyaḥ*
 pautreṇa § 162: L. 89b, 6
 (→ *pra(pautreṇa)*)
 Pauśamāsadivase § 81: L. 23b, 1
 [pra](?) § 128: L. 21c, 1
 (→ *prathame*)
 -*prakitehi*
 → *saṃṅghaparakitehi*
 -*prakṛtānām*
 → *saṃghaparakṛtānām*
 → *saṃghaparakṛtānām*
 → *saṃṅghaparakṛtānām*
 pratathapit[ā] § 22: L. 149k, 2
 prat[a]s[th]apitā § 14: L. 45a, 3/4
 (→ *pratiṣṭhāpita-*)
 pratikṛti/// § 184: L. 145, 1
 pratikṣāpitā § 184: L. 145, 2
 (→ *pratiṣṭhāpita-*)
 pratigrahe § 150: L. 24a, 3; [pra]ti-
 g(rahe) § 157: L. 79b, 3
 pra[t]i[g](ra)ho § 102: L. 21b, 2/3
 (→ *parigrahe*)
 (→ *prarigrhe*)
 pra(t)i(thāpito) § 18: L. 94, 3
 pratiṭhāpeti § 150: L. 24a, 2
 pratiṭhāpito § 126: L. 41b, 3; p[r]ati-
 thā[p]i(to) § 24: L. 38, 2; p[r]atith[ā]-
 pito § 73: L. 29a, 2
 (→ *pratiṣṭhāpita-*)
 pratimam § 81: L. 23b, 2
 -*pratimasya*
 → *apratimasya*
 pratimā § 4: L. 143c, 1; § 9: L. 149v, 1;
 3; § 29: L. 52, 2; § 180: L. 43, 2; § 184:
 L. 145, 2; prat(i)mā § 22: L. 149k, 1/2;
 pra(timā) § 107: L. 41a, 2; [p](r)[a]-
 tim[ā] § 121: L. 14b, 3
 → *Buddhapratimā*
 → *Budhapratimā*
 [pra](timām)(?) § 183: L. 138, 1/2
 pratimā[h] § 113: L. 14, 2
 (→ *paṭimā*)
 (→ *patimā*)
 (→ *prodima*)
 (→ “*bodimā*” (?!))
 prat[i]ṣṭa[p]ay[ati] § 136: L. 31b, 2

pratiṣṭāpita § 29: L. 52, 2
 pra[t]iṣṭāpitam § 74: L. 31a, 1
 pratiṣṭāpito § 27: L. 85, 3
 (pra)t[is]thaveti § 183: L. 138, 2
 pratiṣṭhāpayati § 81: L. 23b, 2/3; (prati-
 ṣṭhā)payati (?) § 138: L. 149c, 4
 pratiṣṭhā[p]itah § 94: L. 149a, 7
 pratiṣṭhāpita § 4: L. 143c, 1; pratiṣṭh[ā]pi-
 t[ā] § 23: L. 89c, 2
 (prati)ṣṭhāpito § 115: L. 82a, 8/9; (prati-
 ṣṭhā)p[i]to (?) § 79: L. 97c, 1
 (→ *patiṭhāpito*)
 (→ *(patit)(āpitā) (?)*)
 (→ *pati(thāpita?)*)
 (→ *pratathāpita*)
 (→ *pratas[th]apitā*)
 (→ *pratikṣāpitā*)
 (→ *pratiṭhāpeti*)
 (→ *pratiṭhāpito*)
 (→ *pratiṣṭāpayati, -ṣṭāpita-*)
 (→ *(pra)tiṣṭhaveti*)
 (→ *pratiṣṭhāpayati*)
 → *pratiṣṭhāpita-*
 [pra]tiṣ[th]itah § 169: L. 149m
 pratisthāpita § 180: L. 43, 2
 p[r]atist[th]āpito § 72: L. 88
 p[r]atist[th]ap(i)[ta] § 121: L. 14b, 3
 prattistāpenti § 137: L. 149b, 5
 -*pratyasatāye*
 → *agrapratyasatāye*
 [p]ra[tha] § 76: L. 89a, 1
 prathame § 30: L. 60, 4; pratha[me] § 162:
 L. 89b, 3; pratha(me) § 107: L. 41a, 1
 (→ *[pra] (?)*)
 prathitāyasaṃnyasya (?) § 184: L. 145, 1
 pra(pautreṇa) § 162: L. 89b, 5
 -*pramukhānām*
 → *Bhādīlapramukhana*
 → *Bhaddīlapramukhānām*
 → *Bhadrāghoṣapramukhānām*
 -*pramukhehi*
 → *Nandībalapramukhehi*
 prarigrhe § 2: L. 125c, 6
 (→ *parigrahe*)
 (→ *parigrahe*)
 (→ *pratigrahe*)
 pravārika-Hā[s]th(is)y(a) § 81: L. 23b, 1
 (→ *prāvārika-*)
 -*prasādā*
 → *bhagavaprasādā*
 -*prahānārtham*
 → *sarvvādukkhaprahānārtham*
 -*prāvarikaputrāsya*
 → *Bhavanandiprāvarikaputrāsya*
 Prāvārikavihār[e] § 74: L. 31a, 1

prāvārika[s](ya) §124: L. 92c; prāvāri-
(kasya?) §7: L. 149f
⟨→ *pravarika-Hāsth(is)y(a)*⟩
prāsād[o] §178: L. 85c, 2
⟨→ *pāsādo*⟩
prāhaṇik[ā]n[am]; pr[ā]hāṇikānam §46:
L. 126, 1; 2
priya (= priyatām?) §22: L. 149k, 4
priyatām §104: L. 13b, 1; §182: L. 23, 5;
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-*priyasya*
→ *Dharmapriyasya*
-*priyāye*
→ *Nuśāpriyāye*
⟨→ *-piyā, Nāga-*⟩
priy[y]att[i] or: -ttā §137: L. 149b, 6
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⟨→ *pratimā-*⟩

-*pharasya*
→ *Haramarddapharasya*
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Phala[pha]|| or: -[ha]|| §56: L. 135
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[Phal](gu)[ya]śa[sya] §76: L. 89a, 2

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[Ba]ma(dā)[si]lye (?) : [Ba]ma/ye §14:
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baladhikāsyā §123: L. 77a, 5
-*bala-*
→ *Nandibala-pramukhehi*
-*balav(r)ā(dhy) artha*
→ *āyubalav(r)ā(dhy) artha*
Balasya §24: L. 38, 1
balānā[s](ya?) (= Balānā[s](ya)?)
§123: L. 77a, 3
⟨→ *Ulānāsyā*⟩
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Buddhadarśav[īy](a) §66: L. 125d
Buddhadāsa §65: L. 140, B
Buddhadāsasya §45: L. 40, 1
Buddhadāsiye §154: L. 21a, 1
[B]u[d]dha[d]eva §65: L. 140, C
Buddhadevasya §167: L. 125e
Buddhanamndi(s)[y](a) §41: L. 89, 2
Buddhaprati[m]ā §167: L. 125e; B[u]-
ddha[pra]ti[mā] §74: L. 31a, 1
⟨→ *Budhapratimā*⟩
Buddha[mi]trāy[e] §24: L. 38, 1

Buddhamītras(y)a §58: L. 125o
Buddhayaśasya §122: L. 91d
B[u]d(dh)arakṣit[a] §65: L. 140, B
Buddh[a]rakṣita[m]sy[ā] or: Buddh[ā]-
§39: L. 132, A
Buddharakṣitasya §46: L. 126, 1; Bu-
ddha[ra]k[ṣ]itasya §39: L. 132, B 1
Buddhar[a]kṣitasyā §40: L. 133, A
Buddharakṣitasya §40: L. 133, B 1
⟨→ *Budharakṣitasa*⟩
[B]uddh[a]varmaṇā §29: L. 52, 1
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-*buddhasya*
→ *saṃmyasambuddhasya*
Buddhānānd[ā]syā §47: L. 137, b 1
Buddh[ā]rakṣita[m]sy[ā] or: Buddh[a]-
§39: L. 132, A
⟨→ *-[p]uddhapūjārt[th]a[m], sarva-*⟩
⟨→ *Budha-*⟩
⟨→ *-būdhānam, sava-*⟩
Buddh[i]śreṣṭasya §33: L. 62b, B
Buddhiśreṣṭhasya §33: L. 62b, A
Budhaghoṣasya §56: L. 135
Budhadevāye §126: L. 41b, 3
Budhaprat[i]mā §135: L. 13, 1
⟨→ *Buddhapratimā*⟩
-(bu*)[dha]pūcaye (?)
→ *sarva(bu*)[dha]pūcaye (?)*
-*budhapūjāye*
→ *sarvabudhapūjāye*
Budharakṣitasa §1: L. 125a, 1
⟨→ *Budharakṣita-*⟩
Budhav[ā]lasa §90: L. 97e, 1
B(u)dh[i]kasya §14: L. 45a, 3
-*būdhānam*
→ *savabūdhānam*
“bodimā” (?) §177: L. 138a, 2
⟨→ *pratimā-*⟩
B[o]disāto or: B[o]d(dh)isāt(v)o §72: L. 88
Bodhisatv[o] §157: L. 79b, 2
B[o]d(dh)isāt(v)o or: B[o]disāto §72: L. 88
Bodhiyāś[e]na §176: L. 92d
[Bo]dhilasa §176: L. 92d
Bodhisaco §1: L. 125a, 1
Bo(dhisa)[t](o) (?) §134: L. 12a, 2
(Bo)dhisat[v]a §2: L. 125c, 2
Bodhisatvam §136: L. 31b, 2
Bodhisatvo §80: L. 97b, 1; §126: L. 41b,
3; Bodhisat[v]o §73: L. 29a, 2; Bodhi-
[s]atvo §24: L. 38, 2; B[odhi](satvo?)
§128: L. 21c, 1
Bodhisvatva §150: L. 24a, 2
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⟨→ *Bama-*⟩

brāhmaṇena § 64: L. 82, 1; brāhm[a]ṇena
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bhaktyā § 184: L. 145, 1
[bhagava]taḥ § 29: L. 52, 1
bhagavatām § 113: L. 14, 2
[bha]gav[a](te) § 162: L. 89b, 1
bhagavato § 4: L. 143c, 1; § 176: L. 92d;
§ 180: L. 43, 2; § 183: L. 138, 1; bhaga-
vat[o] § 27: L. 85, 2; § 102: L. 21b, 2;
bhagava[to] § 12: L. 52a; bhaga[va]-
(to) § 115: L. 82a, 6; (bha)ga[va]to (?)
§ 139: L. 150, 1

bhagavaprasādā § 117: L. 14d 2
bhagavā § 137: L. 149b, 6; bhagav[ā] or:
bhagav[ān] § 176: L. 92d; -bhagavān-
§ 15: L. 56, 2; [bha](gavān) (?) § 115:
L. 82a, 9

bhagavāto § 81: L. 23b, 2
[bha]gnapatitaviśirṇa[m] § 99: L. 80c, 3
bhaṭārikāye § 180: L. 43, 3
-bhaṭṭāyār-

→ -Jayabhṭṭāyār-

Bhaṭṭidāmasya § 13: L. 149j, A 2
bhadata-Jayasenasya § 20: L. 99, 1
bhadam[t]a or:
bhadam[nt]a § 59: L. 129; -bhadamnta-
§ 186: L. 149
-bhada-

→ (Mā)nibhada-pugehi

Bh[a]d[i]lapramukhana § 51: L. 131
Bhaddilapramukhānam § 50: L. 125w, 1
Bhadrāghoṣapra[mu]khā[nām] § 47: L.
125s; Bhadrāgho[sa](pramukhānām)
§ 49: L. 125u; Bh[ad]raghoṣapramu-
khā(nām) § 48: L. 125t

Bhadrāghoṣa[sy]a § 53: L. 125n; Bha-
drāgh(o)ṣasya § 52: L. 125m
Bhadrasya § 52: L. 125m; Bhadras[y]a
§ 53: L. 125n

-bhadrāye

→ Imdragibhadrāye

bhayāye § 19: L. 103

-bharyāye

→ rājabharyāye

-bharyyakasya

→ sabharyyakasya

bharyyā § 81: L. 23b, 2

⟨→ bhāryaye⟩

bhavat[ām] § 46: L. 126, 2

bhavatu § 27: L. 85, 7; 8; § 31: L. 62;
§ 44: L. 125l; -bhavatu § 8: L. 78c, 1;
§ 67: L. 146, 1; § 186: L. 149; bhavat[u]

§ 35: L. 64, B 2; bhava[t]u § 41: L. 89, 4;
bhav[a]t[u] § 60: L. 127, A 2; § 62:
L. 128, A 2; bh[ava]t[u] § 125: L. 143d;
[bha]vat[u] § 44: L. 125l

⟨→ bh[ā]vratu⟩

Bhavana[n]da[sy]a § 93: L. 149z, 2

Bhavanandiprāvar[i]kaputrāsya § 133:
L. 14e, 2

-bhavaye

→ Dhaṇyabhavaye

Bhavaśir[isa] § 172: L. 80b, 1/2

bhavvatu or: bhāvuvatu § 61: L. 141, A 2

⟨→ bhavatu⟩

bhaṣa(na)[k]āsyā § 33: L. 62b, A

bhaṣana[kas]ya § 33: L. 62b, B

bhāgineyīye § 24: L. 38, 2; bh[ā]gineyīye
§ 155: L. 135c, 2

bhāgin[īye] § 84: L. 143g, 2

[bhātu]hi § 139: L. 150, 2

⟨→ bhrātr-⟩

Bhādravadadivase § 78: L. 149h

Bhāradvājasagottreṇa § 94: L. 149a, 5

Bhārgaviputr[e]ṇa § 162: L. 89b, 7

bhāryaye § 123: L. 77a, 6

⟨→ bhāryāye⟩

⟨→ -bhāryāye, rāja-⟩

⟨→ bhāryyā⟩

bhāvuvatu or: bhavvatu § 61: L. 141, A 2

⟨→ bhavatu⟩

[bhi]kṣu[||] § 151: L. 149g, 2

[bhi]kṣu[nā] or: -[nā] § 29: L. 52, 1

bhikṣuṇīye § 154: L. 21a, 1; bh(i)[k](ṣu)-
ṇīy[e] or: -ṇīy[e] § 103: L. 13a

[bhi]kṣuṇīye § 24: L. 38, 1

bhikṣuṇo § 52: L. 125m

-bhikṣuṇyār-

→ Śākyabhikṣuṇyār-

[bhi]kṣuṇam § 46: L. 126, 1

[bhi]kṣu[nā] or: -[nā] § 29: L. 52, 1

bh(i)[k](ṣu)ṇīy[e] or: -ṇīy[e] § 103: L. 13a

bhikṣusya § 33: L. 62b, A; § 39: L. 132,
B 1; § 41: L. 89, 2; § 56: L. 135; bhi-
kṣ[u]sya § 35: L. 64, A; bhikṣ(u)s[y]a

§ 58: L. 125o; bhik[ṣu]sya § 54: L.
125r; bh[i]kṣusya § 35: L. 64, B 1;

§ 157: L. 79b, 1; bh[i]kṣusya or: bh[i]-
§ 31: L. 62; bh[i]k[ṣu]s[y]a § 44: L. 125l;

[bhikṣu]sya § 36: L. 125y; [bhikṣ](u)-
s[y]a § 121: L. 14b, 1

[bh]ikṣu[s]y[ā] § 32: L. 62a, 1

-bhikṣo

→ Śākyabhikṣo

bhikṣoḥ (?) § 40: L. 133, A, n. 2; bhi-
kṣo[h] § 53: L. 125n; § 55: L. 125k, 1

→ Śākyabhikṣoḥ

-bhikṣor-

→ Śākya**bhikṣor-**

bh[i]khunīye §126: L. 41b, 1; 3

bhikhunīye §24: L. 38, 2

bhikhusa §90: L. 97e, 1

bhikṣ[i]sya or: -kṣ[u]- §40: L. 133, B 1

bhikṣusya §24: L. 38, 1; §38: L. 139, 1;

§45: L. 40, 1; bhikṣ[u]sya or: -kṣ[i]-

§40: L. 133, B 1; bh[i]kṣusya or: bh[i]-

§31: L. 62

Bh[u]mo nāgasya §102: L. 21b, 2

bh[u]/// or:

bh[ū]/// §123: L. 77a, 2

Bh[ū]/// §123: L. 77a, 5

-bhūti[sa], ...- §187: L. 125, 2

→ *Dhanabhūtiśa*

-bhogatāya

→ *mahābhogatāya*

Bhoṇḍake §137: L. 149b, 3

bhrātrk[a] or: -k[ā] §27: L. 85, 4

-bhrātrṇ[ām] §184: L. 145, 2

(→ *bhātuhī*)

-maṇḍavikā

→ *Vardhamānamāṇḍavikā*

-matasya

→ *svamatasya*

Matisenā[sya] §175: L. 143m, 1

-matu

→ *Jivakamatu*

(→ *mātu*)

-m[a]trasya or: -m[i]-, B. ... §44: L. 1251

-madu ..

→ *sapitumadu ..*

(→ *mātu*)

[Ma]dh(u)ravanake §24: L. 38, 2

(ma)na[pāka]patina (?) §99: L. 80c, 5

ma[no]/// §21: L. 111, 2

-maśe

→ *hematamaśe* or: -*māśe*

(→ -*māśa*-)

masaravi .. hare (?) §183: L. 138, 2

-mase

→ *hemattamase* or: -*māse*

(→ -*māśa*-)

Mastana/// §100: L. 80e

ma[h]/// §99: L. 80c, 3

mahākṣatrapasa §113: L. 14, 1

(→ *kṣatrapa*-)

(→ *mahākṣatrapa*-)

mahataḥ §21: L. 111, 3

maha[daṃḍa]nā[yakasya] §119: L. 14d, 1

mahadāṇḍanāyakasya §30: L. 60, 6/7

(→ *mahādāṇḍa*-)

mahar[a]jasya or: -r[ā]jasya §102: L. 21b,

1; maharajasya §137: L. 149b, 1;

mahara(ja*)sya

→ *maharasya*

mah[a]r[a]j[ā] §96: L. 85b

maharajā ... §144: L. 81a, 1

maharasya (= maharajasya) §136: L. 31b, 1

maharājarādhirāja =

maharājarā(jā*)dhirāja §174: L. 35b, 1

maharājasya §182: L. 23, 1; mahar[ā]-

jasya or: -r[a]jasya §102: L. 21b, 1;

(ma)harājasya §73: L. 29a, 1

(→ *mahārāja*-)

Maha[śa]bhas[y]a §22: L. 149k, 1

(→ *Rṣabha*-)

mahākṣatrapasya §64: L. 82, 1; §178:

L. 85c, 1; (mahākṣatra)pasya §115:

L. 82a, 10/11

-[ma](hāk)[ś](atrape)[n](a) (?) §99: L. 80c, 5

(→ *kṣatrapa*-)

(→ *mahākṣatrapasa*-)

Mahātman[o] §176: L. 92d

[mahādāṇḍa] (?) §30: L. 60, 10

(mahāda)ṇḍanā[yaka-ma](hāk)[ś](atra-

pe)[n](a) (?) §99: L. 80c, 5

(→ *mahadāṇḍanāyakasya*-)

(→ *mahādāṇḍanāyakasya*-)

mahābhogatāya §15: L. 56, 2

mahārājarājātirājadevaputrasya §99:

L. 80c, 2

(→ *mah(ā)rājarājātirājadevaputa-*

trasya-)

mahārājasya §24: L. 38, 1; mahār[a]-

jasya §29: L. 52, 1

mahārājasya §30: L. 60, 1

mahārājad[a](v)a(putrav)ihāre §29: L. 52, 3

mahārājadevaputrasya §81: L. 23b, 1

m[ah](ā)rāja[rāj]ātirāj[ad]evapu(trasya) §99: L. 80c, 4

(→ *mahārājarājātirājadevaputrasya*-)

mahārājasya §14: L. 45a, 1; §31: L. 62;

§94: L. 149a, 1; §123: L. 77a, 2; m[a-

hārāj]a[sy]a §15: L. 56, 1; [mahā-

rāja]sya §180: L. 43, 1; [mahārāja-

s(y)a] §157: L. 79b, 1; (mahārā-

jasya) (?) §26: L. 79, 2; (mahārā-

ja)sya (?) §114: L. 14a, 1; (mahārā-

jasya) (?) §126: L. 41b, 1

mahārājā §97: L. 78b

mah[ā]r[ā]j[ā]sya §172: L. 80b, 1

mahārājo §98: L. 80d, 1

⟨→ maharājā-⟩

⟨Mahāvira-⟩

→ Māhāvīrasa

Mahā[saghi]yan[am] or:

Mahā[saghi]yan[ā] §157: L. 79b, 3

Mahāsaghiyānam §86: L. 97d

Ma(hāsā)[ṅghika]na §134: L. 12a, 2

(Ma)[h](ā)sāṅghikan[ā] §79: L. 97c, 2

(Mahā)sāṅghiyānam or: -sāṅghī- §125: L. 143d

mahāsthāna ... §115: L. 82a, 7

[Ma]h[opa]d[e]sak[ā]n[am] (?) §89: L. 97a, 1

Mānacchandogena §94: L. 149a, 5/6

[mā]tap[i]t[i]na[m] §73: L. 29a, 3

[mātap]i[t]ṛ[ṇa] or: -ṇda §44: L. 1251

mātare §1: L. 125a, 1

→ Samāṇikamātare

m[ā]tā §26: L. 79, 1; mā(tā?) §13: L. 149j, A2

mātāpitina §180: L. 43, 3

mātāpitihī §1: L. 125a, 2; §24: L. 38, 2;

§80: L. 97b, 1; §135: L. 13, 2

mātāpitihī §187: L. 125, 6/7

mātāpitihī §126: L. 41b, 3

mā[t]āpitṛ[ṇa] §125: L. 143d

mātāpitṛ[ṇa] §27: L. 85, 6; mātāp[it](ṛ-
ṇa) §29: L. 52, 2

mātāp[i]t[ra] §78: L. 149h

mātāpittro §67: L. 146, 1/2

→ mātāpittroḥ §179: L. 148, 2

māt[ā]pit[r]in[ā] §90: L. 97e, 1/2

mātāpitror- §184: L. 145, 2

mātu §93: L. 149z, 3; māt(u) §110: L. 102e; m[ā]tu §109: L. 102d

⟨→ -matu-, Jivaka-⟩

⟨→ -madu ..., sapitu-⟩

-mātrabha

→ pitramātrabha

Māthuraka(sa) §19: L. 103

Māthurasya §102: L. 21b, 3

Māthurā[ṇa] §27: L. 85, 3

M[āth]uri kalavaḍ[ā] §114: L. 14a, 2

(Mā)nibhadapuge[h]i §139: L. 150, 1

-māśe

→ hematamāśe or: -maśe

→ māsa-

→ Pauṣamāsa-divase

-māsa

→ hemantamāsa

-[māse], ... §76: L. 89a, 1

-māse, [tha]vaṣariṣā- (?) §112: L. 14c, 1

→ gr̥smāmāse

→ (gr̥ṣma)m(āse) (?)

→ varṣdmāse

→ hemattamāse

→ hemantamāse

⟨→ -maśe, hemata-⟩

⟨→ -mase, hematta-⟩

Māhāvīrasa §19: L. 103

-mita-

→ Gomitāmucena

→ Brahāsvātimita-(dh)itu

-m(i)takasya

→ Vr. dhu m(i)takasya

-mitakena

→ Gomitakena

-mitasa

→ Gomitasa

Mitravarinnmaputtra §78: L. 149h

Mitrasārho §26: L. 79, 1

-m[i]trasa, ///[ma]- §181: L. 93a

→ G(o)m(i)trasa

→ Dhanami(tr)[sa]

-mitrasya, ... [va]- §162: L. 89b, 5

-m[i]trasya or: -m[a]-, B. ... §44: L. 1251

→ (Na)huṣamī(tr)asya

→ Saṅ(gham)it(r)as(ya)

⟨→ -mītra-, ...-⟩

Mitrāye §181: L. 93a

→ Buddhamitrāye

→ Simitrāye

mi r.ā .[i] .. [h]ā .e ... §72: L. 88

-mīhira-

→ Kṣaṇḍamīhī(ra-putrasya?)

→ Vakamīhira-putrasya

-mīhīrasya

→ Vakamīhīrasya or: Veka- (?)

⟨→ -mīhīrāsya, ...-⟩

-mītra-

→ Saṅghamītra-sadevīhārīsa

-mītrasa

→ Viṣṇumītrasa

-mītras(y)a

→ Buddhamītras(y)a

⟨→ -mīta-, ...-⟩

⟨→ Mittravarinnmaputtra⟩

⟨→ -mītra-, ...-⟩

-mīhīrāsya

→ Vakamīhīrasya

→ Vagamīhīrāsya

⟨→ -mīhira-, ...-⟩

-munīsyā

→ Sakyamunīsyā or: Śakra-

-munīsyā

→ Sakyamunīsyā

-mune

→ Sakyamune

-mu(*neḥ*)

→ *Śākya*mu(*neḥ*)

(-)mokṣi . . . , . . . § 10: L. 149l

[ya]kha ce .i k[ā]sya § 171: L. 124m, 2

-yad- § 8: L. 78c, 1; yad- § 67: L. 146, 1;

§ 78: L. 149h; § 179: L. 148, 1/2; § 184:

L. 145, 2; § 185: L. 147, 2; § 186: L. 149

ya[p]asa or: Ya[m]asa § 165: L. 124z

yamaḍapuṣkaraṇinām § 64: L. 82, 2

yamaṣa[heka]s[y]a § 119: L. 14d, 1/2

Ya[m]asa or: ya[p]asa § 165: L. 124z

-yaśa-

→ *prathitāyaśa*ṇasya-

-yaśaka(*sa*)

→ *Poṭhayaśaka*(*sa*)

Yaśadinnasya § 67: L. 146, 1

Yaśamatāye § 116: L. 14aa

-yaśasya

→ *Phal*(*gu*)*yaśasya*

→ *Buddhayaśasya*

Yaśāya § 14: L. 45a, 3

Yaśāvihāre § 8: L. 78c, 1

-yaśena

→ *Bodhiyaśena*

(ya)ṣṭ[i]cchatraṃ § 82: L. 143j

ya[s]- § 113: L. 14, 3

yūpaḥ § 94: L. 149a, 7

yeṣaṃ § 65: L. 140, A

yo § 21: L. 111, 2

-rakṣita

→ *Bud*(*dh*)*arakṣita*

⟨→ *Śivara*⟩

→ *Samgharakṣita*

-rakṣita[ṃ]sy[ā]

→ *Buddh*[ā]*arakṣita*[ṃ]sy[ā]

-rakṣitasya

→ *Devarakṣit*(*asya*?)

→ *Buddharakṣitasya*

→ *Samgharakṣitasya*

-rakṣitasya

→ *Buddharakṣitasya*

-rakṣitāye

→ *Amoghārakṣitāye*

-rakṣitasa

→ *Budharakṣitasa*

-rakṣitāye

→ (*Śi**)*varakṣitāye*

-raja-

→ *mahāraja*-

||[ra]jati[raja](*sya*) § 138: L. 149c, 1

⟨→ *rājātīrāja*-⟩

-rajasya

→ *maharajasya*

→ *mahārajasya*

→ ||[ra]jātīrāja(*sya*)

-rajā

→ *maharajā*

rajātīrājasya § 94: L. 149a, 1

r[a]jātīrājasya § 137: L. 149b, 1

⟨→ *rājātīrāja*-⟩

-rajāsya

→ *mahārajāsya*

Rajūlaś- § 178: L. 85c, 3

(Raj)ūvulasya or: (Rāj)ū- § 178: L. 85c, 1

⟨→ *Rājūvulasā*⟩

r[āñ]o or: r[āñ]o § 181: L. 93a

⟨→ *rāñyo*⟩

rañe § 178: L. 85c, 3

ratanagr[he] § 187: L. 125, 5

Rama § 77: L. 125i

rājatīrājasya § 102: L. 21b, 1; r[āja]tirā-

j[ā]sya § 15: L. 56, 1

⟨→ *rājātīrāja*-⟩

rājanāpitasya § 75: L. 91e

Rājapāliyakena § 22: L. 149k, 3/4

rājabharyāye § 116: L. 14aa

-rāja-

→ *mahārāja*-

-rājasya

→ *mahārājasya*

→ *rajātīrājasya*

→ *rajātīrājasya*

→ *rajātīrājasya*

→ *rajātīrājasya*

-rājā

→ *mahārājā*

→ *rājātīrājā*

-rājātīrāja-devaputrasya

→ *mahārājārājātīrājadevaputrasya*

rājātīrājasya § 26: L. 79, 2; § 31: L. 62;

rā(jātīrāja)sya § 30: L. 60, 1/2

rājātīrājā § 97: L. 78b

rājātīrājō § 98: L. 80d, 1

⟨→ ||[ra]jātīrāja(*sya*)⟩

⟨→ *rajātīrājasya*⟩

⟨→ *rajātīrājasya*⟩

⟨→ *rajātīrājasya*⟩

-rā(jā*)*dhirāja*

→ *mahārājārā(jā*)dhirāja*

-rājāsa

→ *mahārājāsa*

Rājūvulasā § 113: L. 14, 1

(Rāj)ūvulasya or: (Raj)ū- § 178: L. 85c, 1

⟨→ *Rajūlaś*-⟩

-rājō

→ *mahārājō*

→ *rājātīrājō*

rājyasamvatsare § 28: L. 33; § 94: L. 149a, 2

-*rājyasya*

→ *Ṣarva-Ścaṃḍavirātisṛṣṭarājyasya*
rāño §120: L. 14 d 1, C; r[āño] or: r[año]
§181: L. 93a

rāño §91: L. 124r

-*rāttreṇa*

→ *dvādaśarāttreṇa*

Rudrilaputtreṇa §94: L. 149a, 4

Rośikavihāre §180: L. 43, 2

Rohadevasa §120: L. 14 d 1, A

R(o)[ha](devena) §120: L. 14 d 1, B

Lavaṇa or:

Lavana §127: L. 143c

-*lohitana*

→ (*sa*)*lohitana*

va §35: L. 64, A; §37: L. 65; §126: L. 41b, 1; §154: L. 21a, 1; §177: L. 138a, 1; §180: L. 43, 1; v[a] §12: L. 52a; §150: L. 24a, 1; or: v[ā] §14: L. 45a, 1; [va] §27: L. 85, 1; §157: L. 79b, 1
⟨→ *varṣāmāse*⟩

Vakamihiraputrasya §60: L. 127, B;

§61: L. 141, B; §62: L. 128, B

V[a]kamihirasya or: V[e]ka- §62: L. 128, A1

V[akamih]ir[as]y[a] §60: L. 127, A1

→ v[a]gamihirāsyā, V- §61: L. 141, A1

V[a]d[akṣa]m[sy]ā or: Vu- §39: L. 132, A

Va[d]akṣas[y]a or: Va[mḍ]a-, Va[d]a-,
Va[mḍ]a- §39: L. 132, B1

Vaṇḍakṣasya §40: L. 133, B1

Va[mḍ]akṣas[y]a or: Va[d]a-, Va[mḍ]a-,
Va[d]a- §39: L. 132, B1

Va[m]ḍakṣasyā §40: L. 133, A

Va[d]akṣas[y]a or: Va[mḍ]a-, Va[d]a-,
Va[mḍ]a- §39: L. 132, B1

vadhu §175: L. 143m, 1

[vadhu]ye §17: L. 107b, 2

v[adhū]/// or: v[ā-] §171: L. 124m, 2

vadhū[ye] §84: L. 143g, 1; vadh[ūy]e
§76: L. 89a, 2

⟨→ *vādhūye*⟩

-*vane*

→ *upavane*

Va[mḍ]akṣas[y]a or: Va[d]a-, Va[mḍ]a-,
Va[d]a- §39: L. 132, B1

-*vapuṣā*

→ *paramavapuṣā*

vayyasyā §137: L. 149b, 4

[Vardha]m[ā]namaṇḍavikā §23: L. 89c, 2

Vardhamānasya §18: L. 94, 1

-*varmaṇā*

→ *Buddhavarmaṇā*

-*varmasya*

→ *Buddhavarmaṣya*

-*varmma*

→ *Dhārmavarmma*

→ *Mitravarmma-putra*

-*varmmasya*

→ *Saṅghavarmmasya*

varṣ[a] §123: L. 77a, 1

varṣam[ā]se §30: L. 60, 3/4; va[rṣa]-
m[ā]se §128: L. 21c, 1

varṣ[ā]m[a] (= -māse) §23: L. 89c, 1

[va]rṣāmāse §72: L. 88

⟨→ *vā*⟩

⟨→ *vā*⟩

(va)rṣ[e] §162: L. 89b, 3

-*v[a]lasya* or: -*v[ā]-*

→ *Dh[a]ñv[ā]lasya* or: *Dhuñi-*

Valānas[y]a §30: L. 60, 7/8

⟨→ *Uḷānāsya*⟩

⟨→ *Balānās(ya)*⟩

-*vaśikasya*

→ *Voṇyavaśikasya*

Vasagut[a]/// §111: L. 102e 2

Vasunā §115: L. 82a, 6

-*vast[avya]sya*, ... §45: L. 40, 2

-*vahāsa*

→ *sārthavahāsa*

v[ā] or: v[a] §12: L. 52a; §14: L. 45a, 1

⟨→ *varṣāmāse*⟩

Vākudātev[ā]sikasy[ā] §55: L. 125k, 1

vāca[kas]ya §13: L. 149j, A1/2

vācak[ā]sya- §15: L. 56, 1

(Vā)ts(i)putrasa §187: L. 125, 2/3

-*(vā*)diyānaṃ*

→ *Śāvasthi(vā*)diyānaṃ*

vādhūye §14: L. 45a, 3

v[ādhū]/// or: v[a-] §171: L. 124m, 2

→ *vadhū-*

vāy./// §122: L. 91d

-*vālasa* (= -*pālasya*)

→ *Buddhavālasa*

-*v[ā]lasya* or: -*v[a]-*

→ *Dh[a]ñv[ā]lasya* or: *Dhuñi-*

-*vāsin-*

→ *antevāsin-*, —

→ *Vāsiṣkasya*, *sāher-v-* §94: L. 149a, 2

(Vā)[s](i)ṣkasya §28: L. 33

(Vāsu)devaḥ §115: L. 82a, 9/10

Vāsu(devasya?) §30: L. 60, 2; (Vāsude)-
vasya §115: L. 82a, 6/7

vāstusmi §65: L. 140, A

-*vimśe*

→ *caturvimśe* or: -*viśe*

-*vinśe*
 → *saptāvinśe*
v[i]jñ[ā]yamānānaṃ § 27: L. 85, 4/5
 -*vi(d)yasya*
 → *caturvvi(d)yasya*
Viravṛddhiputro § 137: L. 149b, 4
 =*vira-*
 → *Māhāviraśa*
 → =*Sarva-Śaṃḍavirātisṛṣṭarājyasya*
 (→ *-virāṇāṃ, paṃca-*)
-viśirṇaṇ
 → *bhagṇapatitaviśirṇaṇ*
 -*viśe*
 → *caturviśe or: -vinśe*
v[i]śvasikasya § 61: L. 141, A 1
[v]iś[v]a[saka]sya § 119: L. 14, 2
viś[v]asikasya § 63: L. 125q; *viśv[a]-*
sik[a]sya or: viśv[ā]sik[a]sya § 60:
 L. 127, A 1
 (→ *vaiśvasikasya*)
Viṣṇum[i]trasa § 181: L. 93a
 (→ *Viṣṇusyaḥ*)
visa .. t[ak]e .. § 2: L. 125c, 2
viharisya § 157: L. 79b, 1
viharih[i] § 157: L. 79b, 2
-viharisya
 → *sadhyyiviharisya or: sardhyi-*
 (→ *Saṅghamūtra-sadeviharisa*)
 (→ *vi .. hare (?)*)
 → *masaravi .. hare (?)*
v[i]hārasv[ā]m[i]sya § 136: L. 31b, 1
 -*vihārīsa*
 → *Saṅghamūtra-sadeviharisa*
 (→ *sadhyyiviharisya or: sardhyi-*)
vihāre § 1: L. 125a, 2; § 65: L. 140, A;
 § 86: L. 97d; § 121: L. 14b, 2; § 135:
 L. 13, 2; *vih[ā]re* § 136: L. 31b, 3; *[v]i-*
hāre § 157: L. 79b, 2; *[vihāre] (?)*
 § 154: L. 21a, 2; *(vihā)re (?)* § 184: L.
 145, 2
 → *Cutakavihāre*
 → *Prāvārikavihāre*
 → *mahārājad[a]j(v)a(putrav)ihāre*
 → *Yasāvihāre*
 → *Rośikavihāre*
 → *Śirivihāre*
 → *Suvaṇākāravi(hā)re*
 (→ *vihāre*)
 -*vihito*
 → *savihito*
 -*virāṇāṇ*
 → *paṃcavirāṇāṇ*
 (→ *vira-*)
 -*viryo, |||.. ta-* § 178: L. 85c, 3

Viṣṇusyaḥ § 161: L. 149u, 1
 (→ *Viṣṇumitrāsa*)
v[i]hāre § 31: L. 62
 (→ *vihāre*)
Vudakṣa[m]sy[ā] or: V[a]- § 39: L. 132, A
Vṛddhasya § 54: L. 125r
-Vṛddhahasti[sy](a) § 15: L. 56, 1
 -*vṛddhi-*
 → *Viravṛddhi-putro*
 -*v(r)d(dhy)artha*
 → *āyubalav(r)d(dhy)artha*
Vṛdhisya § 84: L. 143g, 2
Vṛṣṇinā(m) § 113: L. 14, 2
V[e]kāmihirasya or: V[a]ka- § 62: L. 128,
 A 1
vedikā § 176: L. 92d; § 187: L. 125, 4; *ve-*
(dikā) § 115: L. 82a, 8
[Vema] Ta[kāḍa]masya or: Ta[kṣa]ma-
-[kṣu-] § 98: L. 80d, 2
Vem[ṇ]asya (?) or: Kha- § 15: L. 56, 2
Vairasakhi(ya) § 23: L. 89c, 1
-V(ai)r[i]yāṇam § 15: L. 56, 1
v[ai]śvasikasya § 62: L. 128, A 1
 (→ *viśvasikasya*)
 (→ *viśvasakasya*)
 (→ *viśvāsikasya*)
V[o]jya[vai]kasya § 44: L. 125l
vyavahārihi § 65: L. 140, A
vyāstā/// § 79: L. 97c, 1
[V]r.[dh]u[m](i)t[ā]kasya § 15: L. 56, 2
Vv[a]lgamihirasya § 61: L. 141, A 1
 (→ *Vakamīhītra-*)
Śakyamunisya or: Śakra- § 183: L. 138, 1
Śakyamune § 180: L. 43, 2
Śakramunisya or: Śakya- § 183: L. 138, 1
 (→ *Śakya-*)
 -*śakhi(ya)*
 → *Vairasakhi(ya)*
 (→ *śākhā-*)
 -*śata*
 → =*aṣṭaśata*
 → *[paṇa]śata///*
Ś[am]aṇikamātare § 180: L. 43, 3
Samaṇikāye § 180: L. 43, 3
 -*śarmo*
 → *Mitrasarmo*
 (→ *-sama-, Imdra-*)
Śavātrātapotr[i]ya (= Śiva-) § 14: L. 45a, 3
Śāu. e. . . § 99: L. 80c, 5
Śākyabhikṣuṇyār- § 8: L. 78c, 1
Śākyabhikṣo § 67: L. 146, 1; § 152: L. 135a, 1
Śākyabhikṣoḥ § 185: L. 147, 1
Śākyabhikṣor- § 179: L. 148, 1; § 186: L. 149
Ś[ā]kya munisya § 4: L. 143c, 1

[Śāk]y[am]u(nē) § 29: L. 52, 1
 Śāk[y](a)[s](ihasya?) § 3: L. 89e, 1
 [Ś]ā[ky]opāsakasya § 135: L. 13, 1
 (→ *Śakya-*)
 (śā)khāto § 13: L. 149j, A 1
 śākhāyā § 15: L. 56, 1
 (→ *-śakhi(ya)*, *Vaira-*)
 (→ *śikhāya*)
 -śāliko
 → *Parohaśāliko*
 Śāvasthidiyānam =
 Śāvasthi(vā*)diyānam § 2: L. 125c, 5
 śi[kh]āya (= śā-) § 14: L. 45a, 2
 (→ *śākhāyā*)
 Śimitrāye § 18: L. 94, 3
 śirāha (?) § 69: L. 91j
 -śiri
 → *Jivaśiri*
 → *Dh[a]ñśiriya* or: *Dhuñi-*
 Śirivihāre § 80: L. 97b, 2
 -śirisa
 → *Bhavaśirisa*
 (→ *Śrikunde*)
 (→ *śri-*)
 śilāpa[tā]/// § 178: L. 85c, 2
 śil[ā]paṭṭo § 27: L. 85, 3; [śilā]paṭṭo § 64:
 L. 82, 3
 Śi[v]a/// § 115: L. 82a, 4
 Śivara (= Śivarakṣita?) § 149: L. 125h
 (Śi*)vara[kh]itāye § 19: L. 103
 Ś(i)vātrāta-
 → *Savātrātapotriya*
 śiśin[i]ya § 14: L. 45a, 2
 śi(śinī?) or: śi(śyo?) § 142: L. 135b
 -Śisurik[a]yā § 151: L. 149g, 1
 śiśya . . . § 93: L. 149z, 1
 śi(śyo?) or: śi(śinī?) § 142: L. 135b
 śisyasya § 15: L. 56, 2
 Śurānāsya § 68: L. 136
 Śuriyasya § 46: L. 126, 1
 Śegravasagotreṇa § 64: L. 82, 1
 śailam § 113: L. 14, 3; (śai)lam § 115:
 L. 82a, 7/8
 śailadevagr(he) § 113: L. 14, 2
 śailām (acc. pl.) § 113: L. 14, 4
 śailālakānam § 27: L. 85, 4
 Śodā[sā](sya) § 115: L. 82a, 11; Ś[o](dā-
 sasya) § 178: L. 85c, 1; (Śodā)sa[s]ya
 § 115: L. 82a, 1/2
 Śomdāsasya § 64: L. 82, 1
 Śau/// § 162: L. 89b, 6
 -Śca[m]davira-
 → *Sarva-Ścaṃḍavirātiṣṭarājyasya*
 Śrikunde § 65: L. 140, A
 [śrī-]Aśvadev[ā]sya § 133: L. 14e, 1

śrī-Śisurik[a]yā § 151: L. 149g, 1
 -śrīh

→ *Rṣabhaśrīh*

[Ś]r(i)gatapara § 66: L. 125d

(→ *śiri-*)

śrīmad- § 113: L. 14, 3

-śreṣṭhasya

→ *Buddhiśreṣṭhasya*

-śreṣṭhasya

→ *Buddhiśreṣṭhasya*

śahi § 102: L. 21b, 1

[śā]hi § 98: L. 80d, 2

śāher- § 94: L. 149a, 2

sa § 39: L. 132, B 1; § 74: L. 31a, 1; § 102:

L. 21b, 1; § 180: L. 43, 1; [sa] § 27:

L. 85, 1; § 150: L. 24a, 1

saṃ § 12: L. 52a; § 15: L. 56, 1; § 24:

L. 38, 1; § 31: L. 62; § 33: L. 62b, A;

§ 34: L. 63; § 38: L. 139, 2; § 134: L.

12a, 1; sa[m] § 16: L. 80; § 126: L.

41b, 1; § 154: L. 21a, 1; [sa]m § 37:

L. 65; § 172: L. 80b, 1; [saṃ] § 32:

L. 62a, 1; [s](aṃ) § 103: L. 13a

(→ *saṃvatsare*)

saṃvatsat[v]ahitasukh[a](ye?),

-(r)tham?) or: sarva- § 126: L. 41b, 3

(→ *sarvasatvahitasukha-*)

saṃvatsarah § 8: L. 78c, 2

saṃvatsare (?) § 26: L. 79, 2; saṃvatsare

§ 35: L. 64, A; § 81: L. 23b, 1; saṃ(va-

tsa)[r](e) § 41: L. 89, 1; [saṃvatsa]re

§ 157: L. 79b, 1; (saṃvatsa)[r](e)

§ 114: L. 14a, 1

(→ *kālānuvarttamānasaṃvatsare*)

→ *rājyasaṃvatsare*

(→ *sa*)

(→ *saṃ*)

(→ *savacarā*)

(→ *savachare*)

(→ *savatcare*; *savatsara-*)

(saṃ)vva(t) § 23: L. 89c, 1

saṃvartayatām § 115: L. 82a, 12

sake § 1: L. 125a, 2

(→ *svake*)

Sagarasya § 9: L. 149v, 3

(→ *-Sāgarābhyaṃ*, *Sā mudra-*)

-sagottreṇa

→ *Bhāradvājasagottreṇa*

-sagottreṇa

→ *Śegravasagottreṇa*

Saghadāsasya § 29: L. 52, 2

(→ *Saṅghadāsasya*)

[sa]gha[s]tha[vi]ra(sya) § 155: L. 135 c, 1

⟨→ *saṅghasāhāviraśya*⟩

-*saghiyāṇam*, -*yanā*

→ *Mahāsaghiyāṇam*, -*yanā*

⟨→ *-sāṅghikāṇā*, *Mahā-*⟩

⟨→ *-sāṅghiyāṇam*, (*Mahā-*)⟩

saghe or: saghem § 31: L. 62

⟨→ *saṅghe*⟩

Saṅgārakasya § 9: L. 149 v, 2

[Saṅgha] ... [sya] § 47: L. 137, b 1

Saṅ[gha]d[ā]s[ā]sya § 47: L. 137, b 1

⟨→ *Saghadāsasya*⟩

Sa[n]ghadevasa or: Sa[m]- § 145: L. 125 j

S[a]ṅghadevas[ya] § 47: L. 137, b 1

Saṅghadevasyā § 55: L. 125 k, 1

s[ā]ṅghaprakṛtā[ṇa]m § 50: L. 125 w, 1

saṅghaprakṛtā[ṇa]m § 48: L. 125 t; sa-

ṅghaprakṛt[ā]n[ā]m § 47: L. 125 s

⟨→ *saṅghaprakṛtāṇam*⟩

Saṅ(gham)[it](r)[as](ya) § 47: L. 137, b 2

Saṅghamitra-sadevih[ā]rīsa § 45: L. 40, 1

Saṅghavarṇ[m]a[sya] § 54: L. 125 r

saṅghasthāviraśya § 59: L. 129

⟨→ *saghassthāvira(sya)*⟩

saṅghe § 38: L. 139, 1; s[a]ṅghe § 39: L. 132, B 1

⟨→ *saghe* or: *saghem*⟩

⟨→ *saṅghe*⟩

saṃkālāyitavyaḥ § 65: L. 140, A

Sa[m]ghadevasa or: Sa[n]gha- § 145: L. 125 j

⟨→ *Saṅghadevasyā*⟩

saṃghaprakṛt[ā]nāṃ § 51: L. 131

⟨→ *saṅghaprakṛtāṇām*⟩

⟨→ *saṃghaprakṛtehi*⟩

⟨→ *saṃghaprakṛtāṇām*⟩

Samgharakṣitasya § 185: L. 147, 1/2

⟨→ *Samgharakṣita*⟩

Samghila § 81: L. 23 b, 2

saṃghapr[a]kṛtehi § 65: L. 140, A

saṃghaprakṛt[ā]nāṃ § 49: L. 125 u

⟨→ *saṃghaprakṛtāṇām*⟩

Samṅghar[a]kṣ[i]t[a] § 65: L. 140, B

⟨→ *Samgharakṣitasya*⟩

saṃghe § 33: L. 62 b, A; § 35: L. 64, B 1;

saṃ[ṅgh](e) § 40: L. 133, B 1

⟨→ *saṅghe*⟩

-*saco*

→ *Bodhisaco*

⟨→ *-satva*, ...⟩

-*satahidas(ukhaye)*

→ *sa(rv)vasatahidas(ukhaye?)*

-*satāna*

→ *sārvasatāna*

-*satānaṃ*

→ *savasatānaṃ*

-(*sa*)t(o)

→ *Bo(dhisa)t(o) (?)*

⟨→ *-satva*, ...⟩

sattre[n]ja § 94: L. 149 a, 6

satyadha(r)[m]asth[i]tasya § 99: L. 80 c, 1

-*satva*

→ (*Bo*)*dhisatva*

⟨→ *-saco*, *Bodhi-*⟩

⟨→ *-(sa)t(o)*, *Bo(dhi)- (?)*⟩

⟨→ *-satvaṃ*, *Bodhi-*⟩

⟨→ *-satvo*, *Bodhi-*; *Bodhi-*⟩

⟨→ *-sāto*, *Bodhi-* or:

→ *-sāt(v)o*, *Bod(dh)i-*⟩

⟨→ *-svatva*, *Bodhi-*⟩

-*satvaṃ*

→ *Bodhisatvaṃ*

-*satvanam*

→ *sarvasatvanam*

-*satvanam*

→ *sarvasatvanam*

-*satvanā*

→ *sarvasatvanā*

-*satvāhitasukha(ye?)* or: *-(rītham?)*

→ *sarvasatvāhitasukha(ye?)*, *-(rītham)*

-*satvāhita(sukhāye?)* or: *-(sukhārtham?)*

→ *sarvasatvāhita* ...

-*satvāhitasukhārtha* or: *-rītha (?)*

→ *sarvasatvāhitasukhārtha*, *-rītha (?)*

-*satvāhitasūlkha*

→ *sarvasatvāhitasūlkha*

-(sa)[t]vāna, (sarva)- (?) § 112: L. 14 c, 2

→ *sarvasatvāna*

-(sat)[vā]nām, (sarva)- (?) § 125: L. 143 d

→ *sarvasatvānām*

→ *sarvasatvānām*

-(sa)tv[ā]nām, (sarva)- (?) § 131: L.

143 n, b; *-(satvā)nām*, (sarva)- (?)

§ 87: L. 143 a

→ *sarvasatvānām*

→ *sarvasatvānām*

→ *savasatvānām*

⟨→ *-satāna*, *sārva-*⟩

⟨→ *-satānaṃ*, *sava-*⟩

⟨→ *-satvanam*, *sarva-*; *sarva-*⟩

⟨→ *-satvanā*, *sarva-*⟩

⟨→ *-savānā*, *sava-*⟩

-*satvānuttarajñānavāptaye*

→ *sarvasatvānuttarajñānavāptaye*

-*satvāhitasukhārtha*

→ *sarvasatvāhitasukhārtha*

-*satvo*

→ *Boddhisatvo*

→ *Bodhisatvo*

- satvottamasya*
 -*āryasatvottamasya*
 -*sadevihārīsa*
 → *Śaṅghamītrasadevihārīsa*
 <→ *sadhīyiviharīsa* or: *sardhyi*-
Saddhisya § 175: L. 143m, 1
sa[dh]yiviharīsa or: *sa[r]dh[yi]*- § 44: L. 125l
 <→ -*sadevihārīsa*, *Śaṅghamītra*-
sap[itu]m[adu] .. (?) § 123: L. 77a, 7
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Sabh[a]vasya (= *Sa(m)-*) or: -*bh[a]*-
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 -*samadhāra* ...
 → *śudadhasamadhāra* ...
 -*sama*-
 → *Indrasama-pūṭṣa*
 <→ -*śarmo*, *Mitra*-
Samitiyāna § 80: L. 97b, 3
Samu[d]r[a]- or: *S[ā]mu[d]r[a]*- § 9: L. 149v, 1/2
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 <→ *sarvvādūkkhaphrahānārtham*
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[sa]rvabudhapūjāye § 157: L. 79b, 2
 <→ *sarvabūdhānam*
 -*Sarva-Śca[m]ḍavirātisr̥ṣṭar[ā]jya[sya]*
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[sa]rva[satv]anā § 157: L. 79b, 2/3
 <→ *sarvasatvānām*
sarvasat[v]ahitasukh[a](ye?), -(*rtham*?)
 or: *saṃrva-* § 126: L. 41b, 3
[sa]r[va]sat[v]ahita(sukhāye?) or: -(*su-khārtham*?) § 76: L. 89a, 3
sarvasatvahitasukh[ā]r[th]a or: -*r[th]a*
 (?) § 29: L. 52, 3
 <→ *saṃrvasatvahitasukha(ye?)*
 <→ *sarvasatvāhitasukhārtha*
 <→ *sa(rv)vasatahidas(ukhaye?)*
 <→ *sarvvasatvāhitasūkha*
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(sa)[r](vasatv)ā[nā] § 35: L. 64, B2
sarvasatvānam § 179: L. 148, 2; *sar[v]a-[s]at[tvānam]* § 185: L. 147, 2
 <→ *sarvvasatvanam*
 <→ *sarvvasatvāna*, -*nam*, -*nām*
 <→ *savasatānam*, -*satvānām*, -*savānā*
 <→ *sārvasatāna*
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sa(rv)[va]satahida[s](ukhaye?) § 102: L. 21b, 3/4
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 <→ *sarvasatvāhitasukha*-
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 <→ *sarvabudha*-
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 → *savasavānā*
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 -sāṅghikanā
 → *Mahāsāṅghikanā*
 -sāṅghiyānaṃ or: -sāṅghī-
 → (*Mahā*)sāṅghiyānaṃ, -sāṅghīyā-
 naṃ
 (→ -sāṅghiyānaṃ, *Mahā*-)
 -sāto
 → *Bodisāto* or:
 -sāt(v)o
 → *Bod(dh)isāt(v)o*
 (→ -sātva-, ...)
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 → *Sāk[y](a)[s](i)hasya?*
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 -sukhaye
 → *sarvasatvāhitasukha(ye?)*
 → *sa(rv)vasatahidas(ukhaye?)*
 → *hitasukhaye*
 -sukharthaṃ
 → *hitasukharthaṃ*
 -sukhāe
 → *hitasukhāe*
 sukhā[ye] §128: L. 21c, 2
 → *hitasukhāye*

-sukhārtha
 → *sarvasatvāhitasukhārtha*
 → *hitasukhārtha*
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 -sūkha
 → *sarvasatvāhitasūkha*
 -sūkhā(rthaṃ?)
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 (→ -sukha-)
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 → *Matisenasya*
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 -sthavirasyā
 → *sagha-, saṅghasthavirasyā*
 -sthāna[||]
 → *mahāsthāna[||]*
 (→ *stāne*)
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 -svatva
 → *Bodhisvatva*
 (→ -sātva-, ...)
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 -svāti-
 → *Brahāsvātimīta-(dh)itu*
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-hathiniye

→ *Puśahathiniye*

⟨→ -hasti-, ...⟩

H[ar]amarddaphara[s]y[a] §62: L. 128, B

⟨→ *Horamā*^o⟩

-hasti [ca] or: -hastih

→ *Senahasti* [ca] or: -hastih

-hastika ..

→ *Dharmahastika* ..

-hastisy(a)

→ *Vṛddhahastisy(a)*

⟨→ -hathiniye, *Puśa*-⟩

⟨→ *Hāsth(is)y(a)*⟩

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→ *sarvasatvahita(sukhāye?)*

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-hitasūkha

→ *sarvasatvahitasūkha*

hitasūkha(rtham?) §112: L. 14c, 2

-hidas(ukhaye?)

→ *sa(rv)vasatahidas(ukhaye?)*

-hitasya

→ (*sa*)*hitasya*

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¹ "The words are given under their Sanskrit form if this really occurs or can be easily formed" (Lüders, List, p. 213, n. 1).

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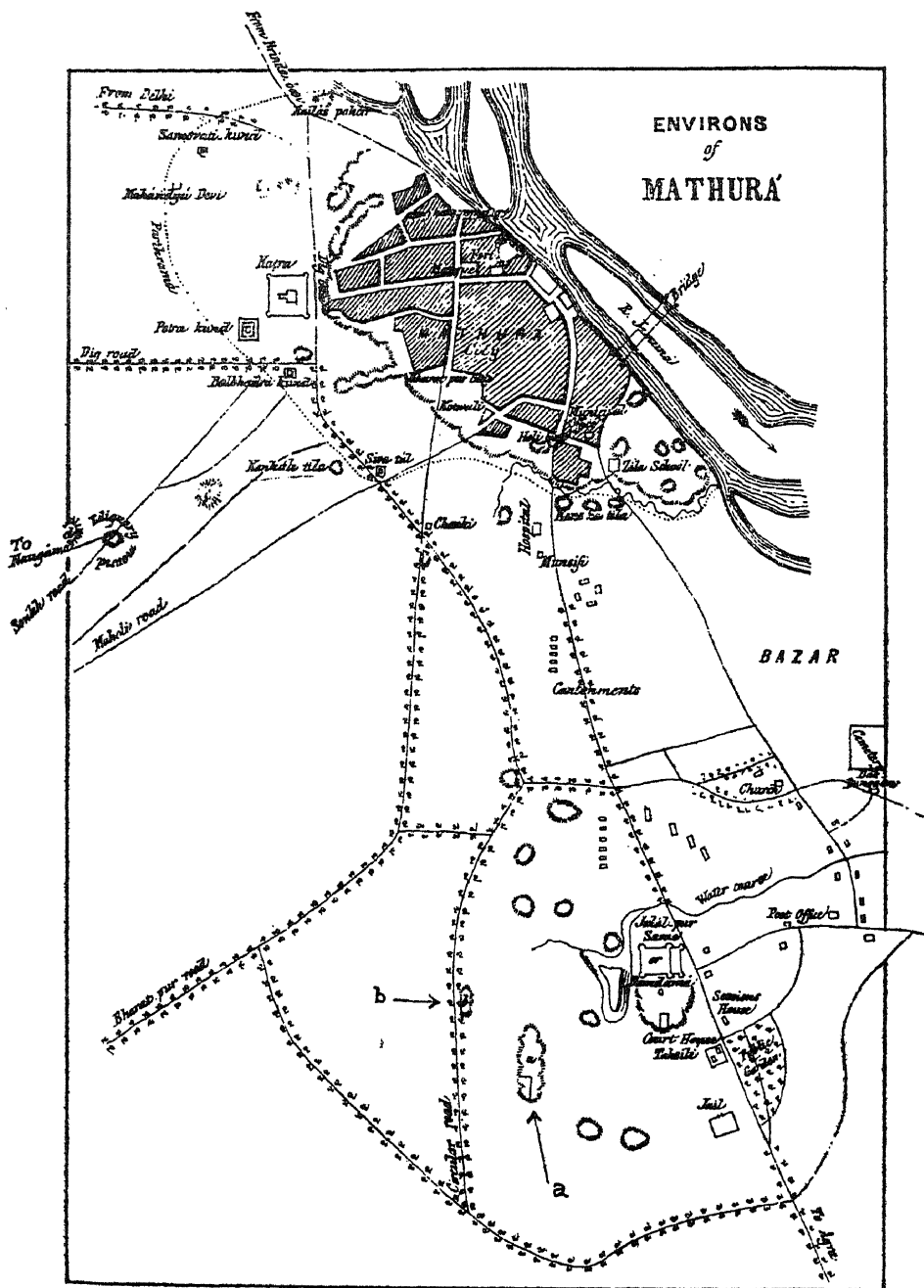
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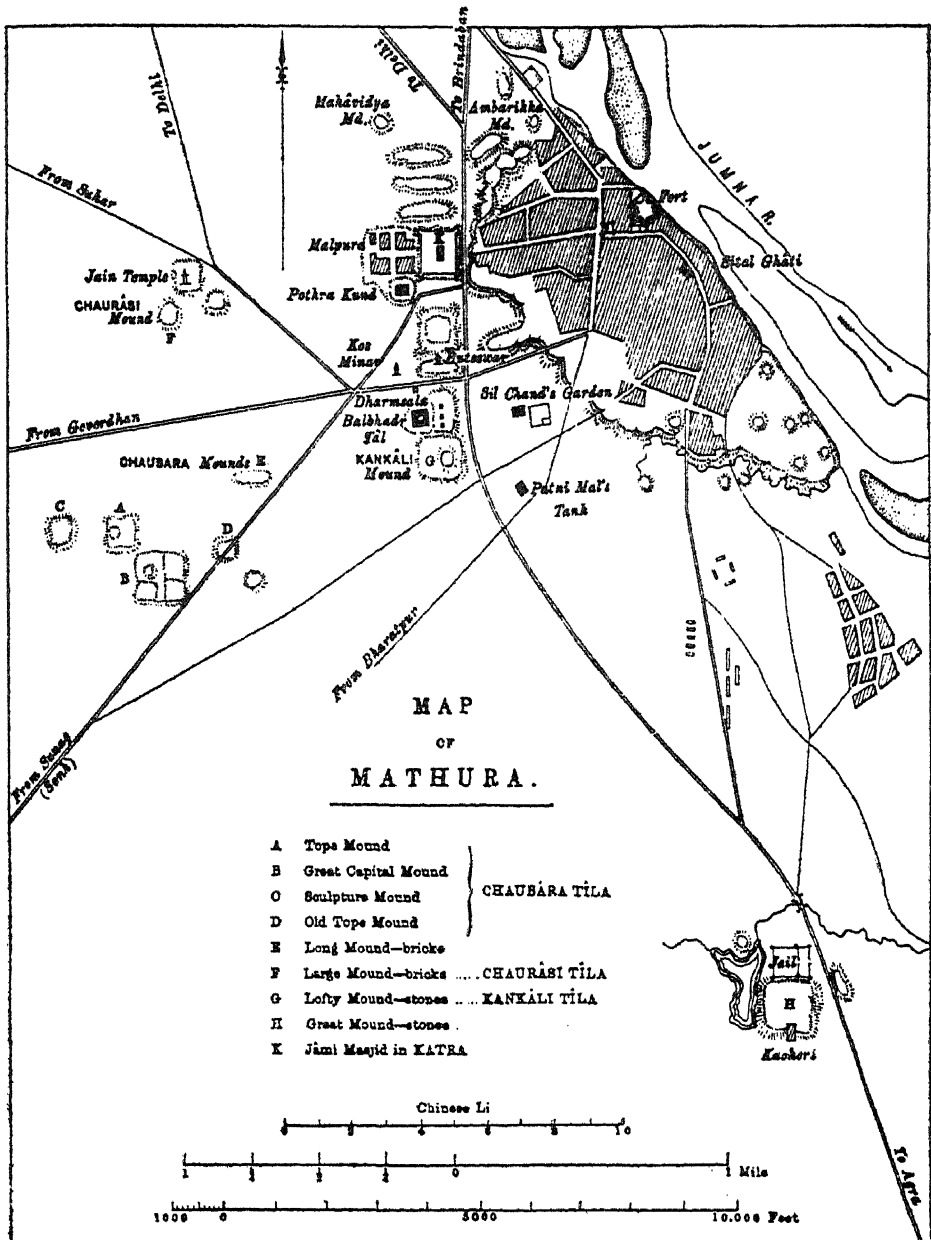
Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

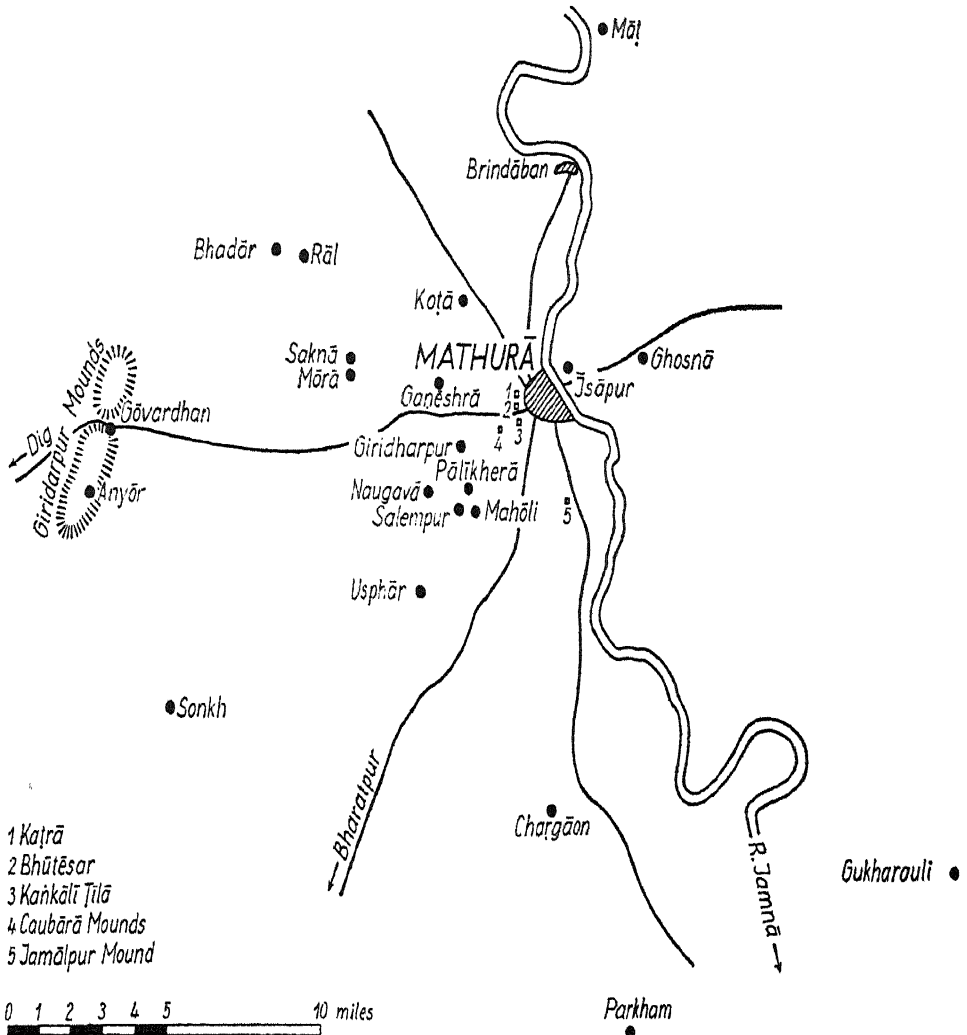
58. 1904: *Lüders.*

MAPS



From Growse, Mathurā 1874 Pt 1, p. 72.





FACSIMILES



§ 8



§ 12



§ 11



1

2



3

4

§ 5

§ 5 : <L. 88a> (line 1, from [nta] to [di] : 8 cm). • § 8 : <L. 78c> (line 1, aksara 1—32, i. e. from *de* to *sa* : 39,5 cm). • § 11 : L. 91a (3 cm). • § 12 : L. 52a. From ASI Ann. Rep. 1908/09. 1912, (photograph) pl. 54,a (partly spoilt by tracing the letters in ink).

[illegible][illegible]

§14

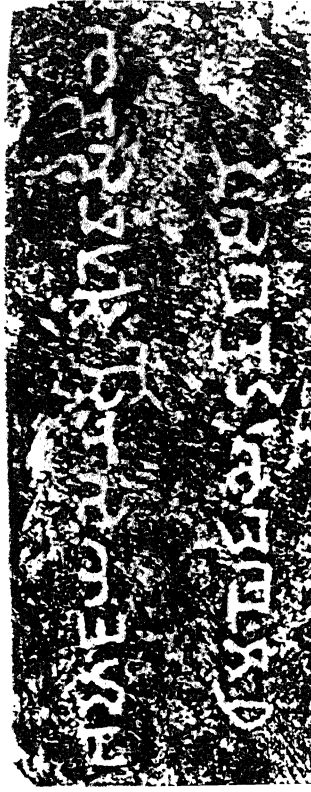
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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

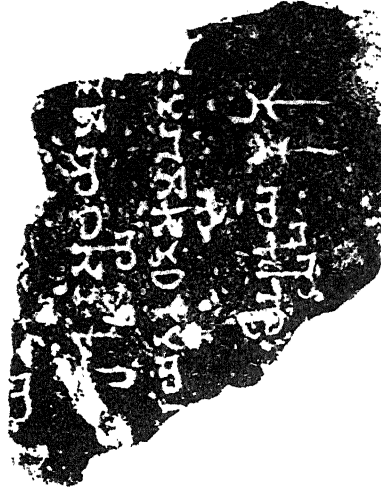
大正十一年九月

— 100 —

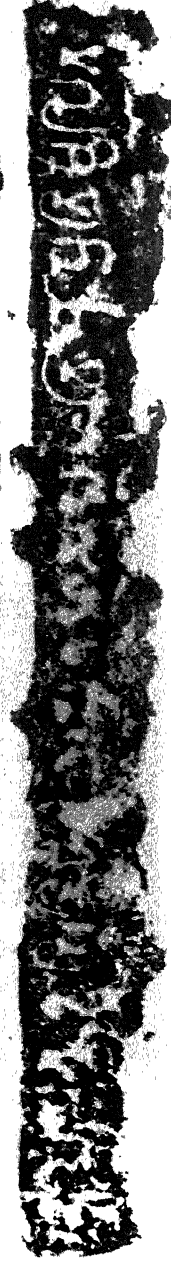
1515



§ 20



§ 21



§ 23

§ 20 : L. 99. From Ep. Ind. 2. 1894, pl. 4 facing p. 200. • § 21 : L. 111. From Ep. Ind. 2. 1894, pl. 7 facing p. 200. • § 23 : L. 89c (line 1, from *vva* to *kha*; 33 cm).

1 2

1 2

1 2

§ 24

§ 25

§ 24 : L. 38 (line 1, from *ma* to *3*: 34,5 cm). • § 25 : L. 98 (from *a* to *nam*: 22 cm).



MS. 11-12
lower leaf



Cunningham, II

§ 26

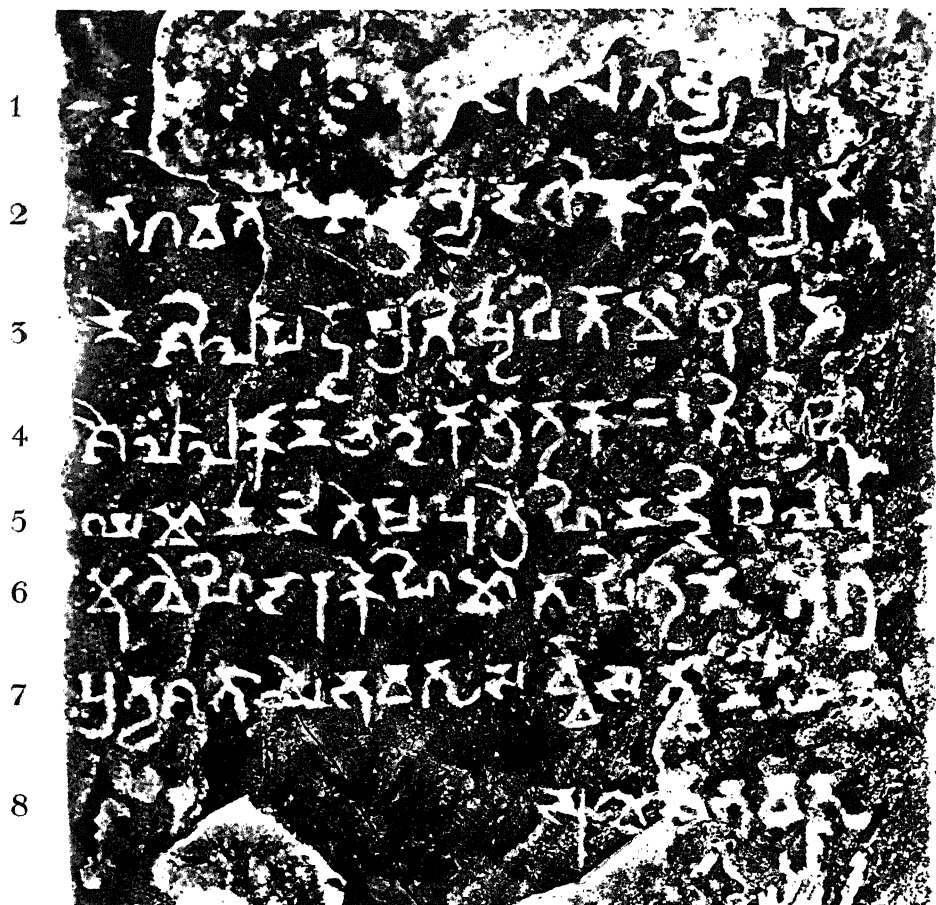


§ 28

§ 29



§ 26 : L. 79 (line 1, from *gho* to *sa*; 15 cm); "lower line" = Cunningham's rubbing I (cf. above p. 61,3). •
[§ 27: cf. the following page.] • § 28 : L. 33 (from *pha* to *d/i*; 26 cm). • § 29 : L. 52. From Ep. Ind. 10.
1909/10, pl. 1, 6 facing p. 107.

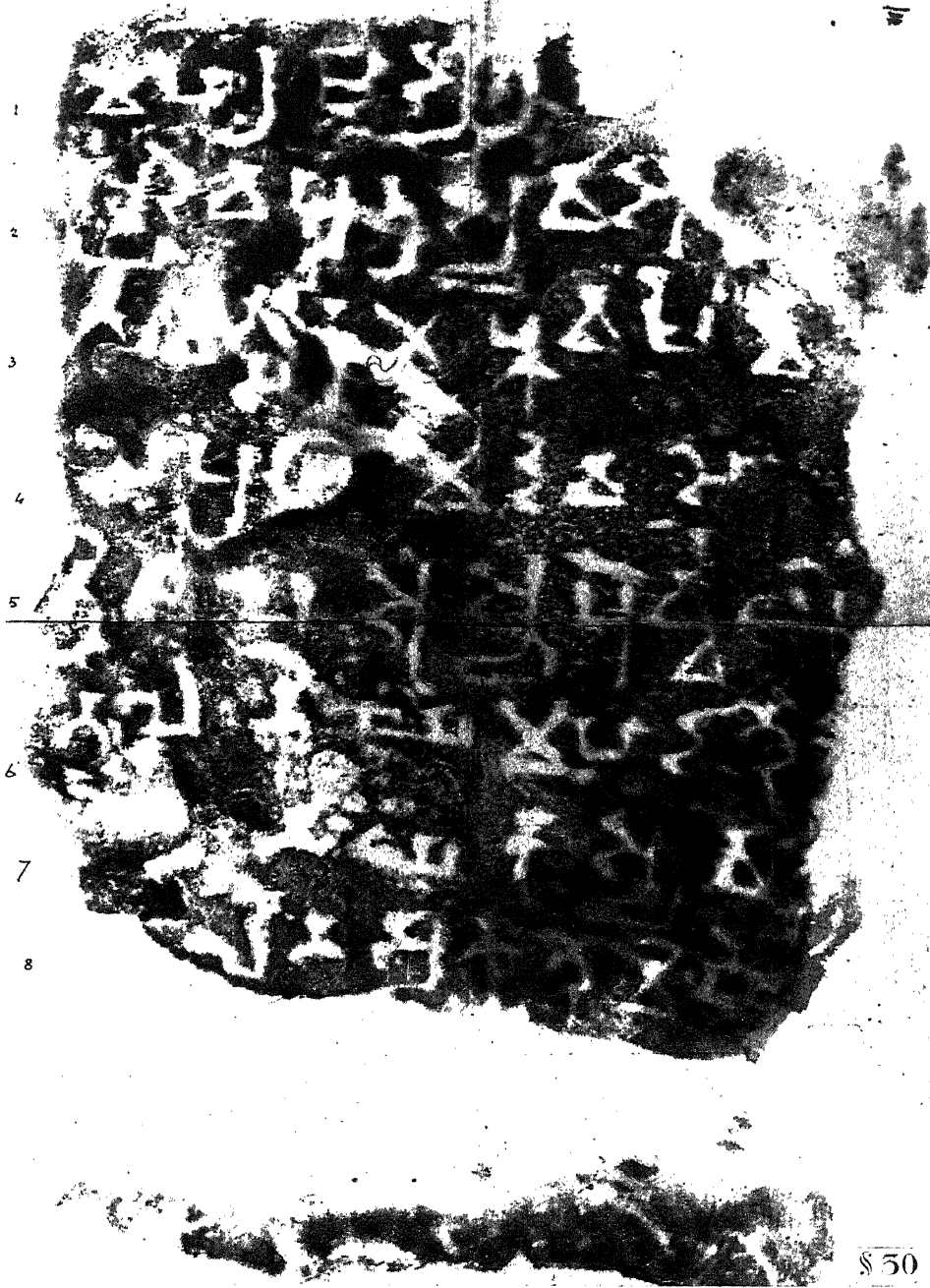


§ 27



§ 27

§ 27 : L. 85 (line 2, from *bha* to *stā*: 29,5 cm). — Below: the first two lines of an old rubbing of the Hoernle collection (cf. above p. 62,1).



§ 50

§ 30 : L. 60. Cunningham's rubbing (line 5, from *tri* to *yam*: 24 cm).
[Cf. also the following page.]

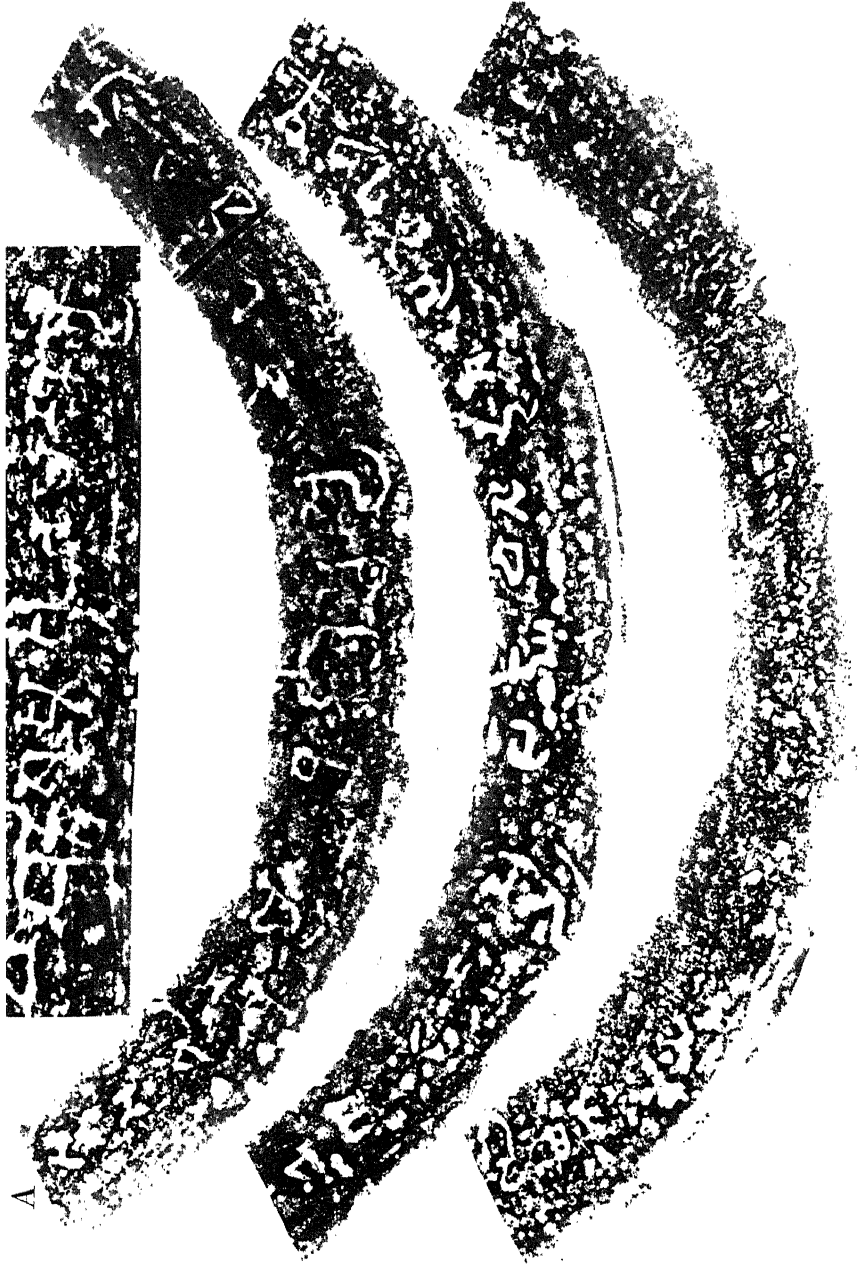


§ 52

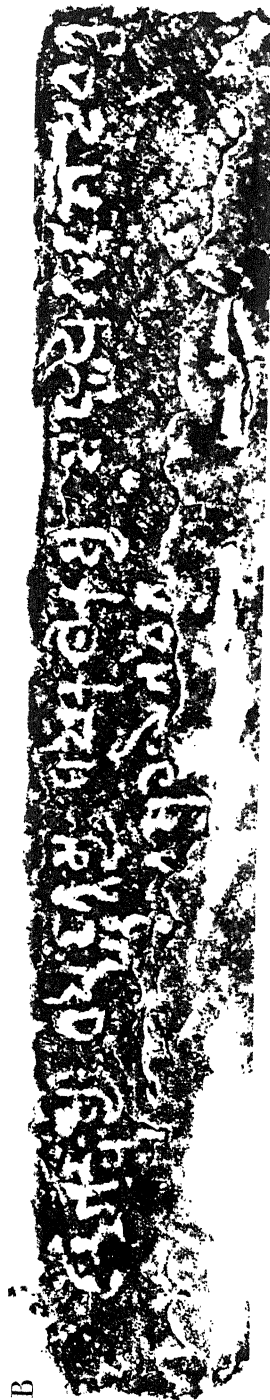
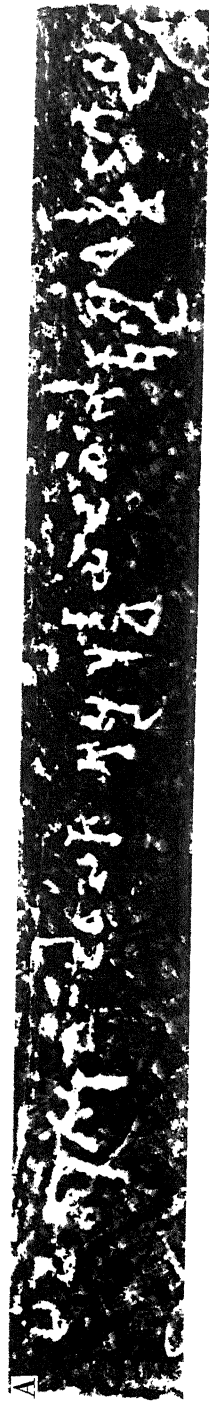


§ 54

§ 82 : L. 62a. Two different impressions of the inscription (\leftrightarrow 55 cm). • [§ 33: cf. the following page.] • § 34 :
L. 63 (from *dā* to 20: 50 cm).



§ 88 : L. 62b. B: base inscription (from *da* to */s/ya*: 28,5 cm); — A: torus inscription.



§ 55



§ 56

§ 35 : L. 64 (List No 61 = inscription A, from *scap* to [*śjga*: 55 cm; — List No 64a = inscription B), • § 36 : L. 125y (akṣara 1—10: 17,5 cm).

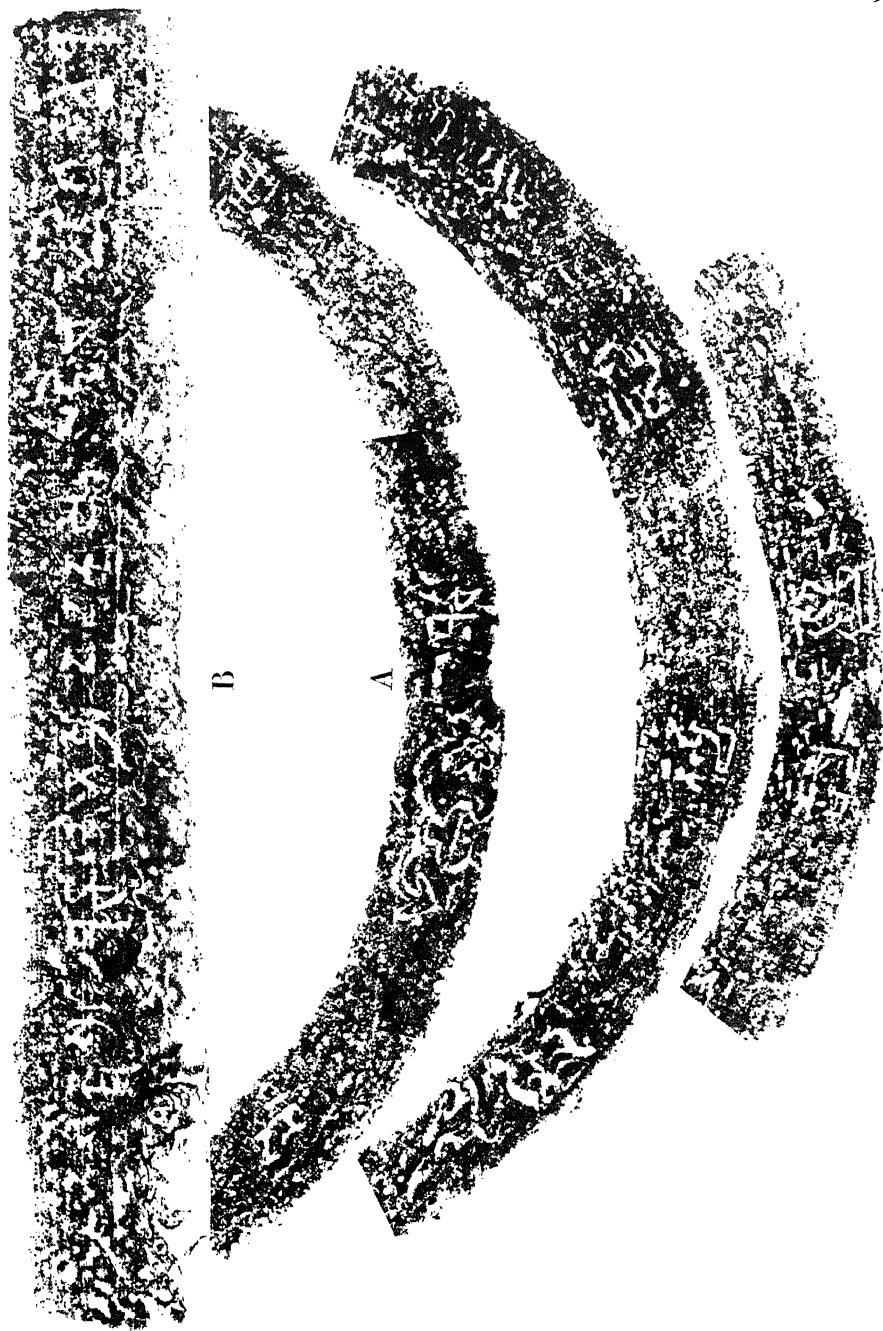


§ 57



§ 58

§ 37 : L. 65 (from *da* to *10 1*: 35,5 cm). • § 38 : L. 139 (line 1, from *da* to *tu*: 41,5 cm).



§ 89 : L. 132. B: base inscription (from [da] to 7: 52 cm); — A: torus inscription.



§ 40 : L. 133 (= L. 134). B: base inscription (from *da* to *scm*: 43 cm); — A: torus inscription.

2



1

4



1

§ 41



§ 42



§ 43

§ 41 : L. 89 (line 2, from *se* to *ndi*; 48 cm). • § 42 : L. 90 (from *d[i]* to 8; 5 cm). • § 43 : L. 91 (from *d[i]* to 9; 5 cm).



§ 44 : L. 1251 (akṣara 1—11, i. e. from /d/ā to sya: 26 cm).

二 三 四 五 六 七 八 九 十 十一 十二 十三 十四 十五 十六 十七 十八 十九 二十 二十一 二十二 二十三 二十四 二十五 二十六 二十七 二十八 二十九 三十 三十一 三十二 三十三 三十四 三十五 三十六 三十七 三十八 三十九 四十 四十一 四十二 四十三 四十四 四十五 四十六 四十七 四十八 四十九 五十 五十一 五十二 五十三 五十四 五十五 五十六 五十七 五十八 五十九 六十 六十一 六十二 六十三 六十四 六十五 六十六 六十七 六十八 六十九 七十 七十一 七十二 七十三 七十四 七十五 七十六 七十七 七十八 七十九 八十 八十一 八十二 八十三 八十四 八十五 八十六 八十七 八十八 八十九 九十 九十一 九十二 九十三 九十四 九十五 九十六 九十七 九十八 九十九 一百

§ 15

一 二 三 四 五 六 七 八 九 十 十一 十二 十三 十四 十五 十六 十七 十八 十九 二十 二十一 二十二 二十三 二十四 二十五 二十六 二十七 二十八 二十九 三十 三十一 三十二 三十三 三十四 三十五 三十六 三十七 三十八 三十九 四十 四十一 四十二 四十三 四十四 四十五 四十六 四十七 四十八 四十九 五十 五十一 五十二 五十三 五十四 五十五 五十六 五十七 五十八 五十九 六十 六十一 六十二 六十三 六十四 六十五 六十六 六十七 六十八 六十九 七十 七十一 七十二 七十三 七十四 七十五 七十六 七十七 七十八 七十九 八十 八十一 八十二 八十三 八十四 八十五 八十六 八十七 八十八 八十九 九十 九十一 九十二 九十三 九十四 九十五 九十六 九十七 九十八 九十九 一百

§ 16

一 二 三 四 五 六 七 八 九 十 十一 十二 十三 十四 十五 十六 十七 十八 十九 二十 二十一 二十二 二十三 二十四 二十五 二十六 二十七 二十八 二十九 三十 三十一 三十二 三十三 三十四 三十五 三十六 三十七 三十八 三十九 四十 四十一 四十二 四十三 四十四 四十五 四十六 四十七 四十八 四十九 五十 五十一 五十二 五十三 五十四 五十五 五十六 五十七 五十八 五十九 六十 六十一 六十二 六十三 六十四 六十五 六十六 六十七 六十八 六十九 七十 七十一 七十二 七十三 七十四 七十五 七十六 七十七 七十八 七十九 八十 八十一 八十二 八十三 八十四 八十五 八十六 八十七 八十八 八十九 九十 九十一 九十二 九十三 九十四 九十五 九十六 九十七 九十八 九十九 一百

§ 18

§ 45 : L. 40 (line 1, from 2 to 5a: 49 cm). • § 46 : L. 126 (line 1, from a to a: 52,5 cm). • [§ 47: cf. the following page.] • § 48: L. 125t (from a to 5a: 52 cm).



§ 47



§ 49

§ 47 : L. 125s and L. 137 (part a, from a to *kḥā*: 44 cm). • § 49 : L. 125u (from a to *gho*: 32 cm).



§ 50



§ 51



§ 52

§ 50 : L. 125w (line 1, left part, from *dā* to *nam*: 17,5 cm). • § 51 : L. 131 (= L. 125v) (from *d[a]* to *kha*: 25 cm). • § 52 : L. 125m (from *si* to *ca*: 46 cm).



§ 55



§ 54



§ 55



§ 56

§ 53 : L. 125n (from *dā* to [*ca*] : 40,5 cm). • § 54 : L. 125r (from *a* to *ca* : 43 cm). • § 55 : L. 125k (line 1, from *dā* to *sy/ā*) : 50 cm). • § 56 : L. 135. From JPBAS 5. 1909, pl. 11, 6.



§ 57



§ 58



§ 59

§ 57 : L. 125x (aksara. 1—4, i. e. from *la* to *syā*; 9 cm). • § 58 : L. 125o (from *[dā]* to *s(y)a*; 26 cm). • § 59 : L. 129 (= L. 130 r) (from *dā* to *dam*; 21,5 cm).



B

§ 60

§ 60 : L. 127. Two different rubbings of A, the base inscription (line 1, from *da* to *i*; 53 cm); — B: torus inscription.



§ 61

§ 62

§ 61 : L. 141. A: base inscription (line 1, from *d/a* to *ge*); 48 cm); — B: torus inscription. — To the right of B: the last six aksharas of A, line 1, from another impression. • § 62 : L. 128. A: base inscription (line 1, from *d/a* to *re*); 45 cm); — B: torus inscription. — To the right of B: the last seven aksharas of A, line 1, from another impression.



§ 65



§ 64

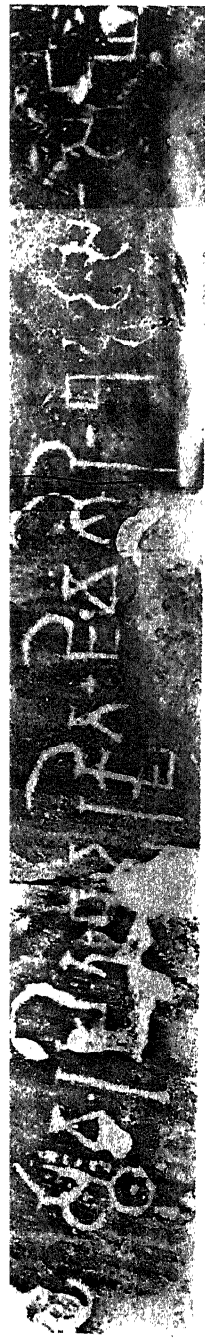
§ 63 : L. 125q (from *na[m]* to *[pu]* : 51 cm). • § 64 : L. 82 (line 1, from *svā* to *ηα* : 65 cm).



§ 65



§ 65 : L. 140. Line A : the rubbing of the Hoernle collection (aksara 2—17, i. e. from *pa* to *nan*: 57 cm). [Cf. the following page.]



§ 65



§ 65 : L. 140 (continued). Line B, akṣara 1—20 (i. e. from *sthā* to *ñgha* = 64 cm): the rubbing of the Hoernle collection (before *sthā*, i. e. at the beginning of the line: the i-sign of the last akṣara of line A; cf. above p. 101,5); — akṣara 19/20 (*saññigha*)—23 (*t(a)*): a modern impression. — Line C: a modern impression.



§ 66

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

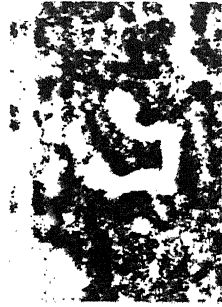
§ 67



262



171.



§ 70



§ 69

§ 66 : L. 125 d (from *ga* to *v[i]* : 13 cm). • § 67 : L. 146. From JASB 47, 1. 1878, pl. 21. • § 68 : L. 136 (from *n/u* to *tu*. 25,5 cm). • § 69 : 〈L. 91j〉 (line *a*, from *si* to *la* : 7,5 cm). • § 70 : L. 91b (3,5 cm). • § 71 : 〈L. 91i〉 (2 cm).

—
L. 88 (from *rsā* to *pe*): 18 cm). • § 73 : <L. 29a> (line 1, from *ha* to *še*: 28,5 cm). • § 74 : <L. 31a>
(line 1, from *si* to *tan*: 44 cm).

—
L. 88 (from *rsā* to *pe*): 18 cm). • § 73 : <L. 29a> (line 1, from *ha* to *še*: 28,5 cm). • § 74 : <L. 31a>
(line 1, from *si* to *tan*: 44 cm).

§ 72

—
L. 88 (from *rsā* to *pe*): 18 cm). • § 73 : <L. 29a> (line 1, from *ha* to *še*: 28,5 cm). • § 74 : <L. 31a>
(line 1, from *si* to *tan*: 44 cm).

—
L. 88 (from *rsā* to *pe*): 18 cm). • § 73 : <L. 29a> (line 1, from *ha* to *še*: 28,5 cm). • § 74 : <L. 31a>
(line 1, from *si* to *tan*: 44 cm).

§ 75

—
L. 88 (from *rsā* to *pe*): 18 cm). • § 73 : <L. 29a> (line 1, from *ha* to *še*: 28,5 cm). • § 74 : <L. 31a>
(line 1, from *si* to *tan*: 44 cm).

§ 74



§ 75

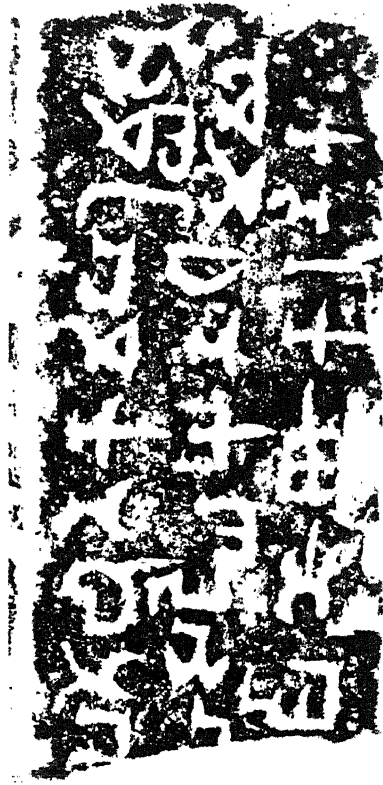


§ 76

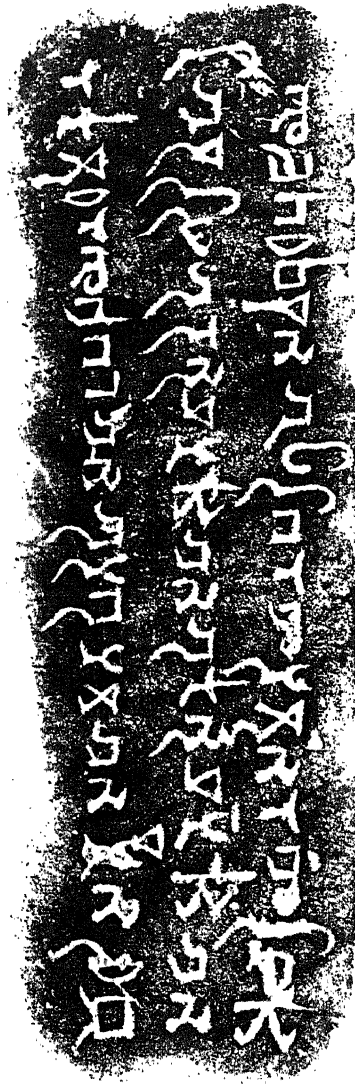


§ 77

§ 75 : (L. 91e) (from *ra* to *sa*: 40 cm). • § 76 : L. 89a (impression of the first two lines: \longleftrightarrow 44,5 cm). • § 77 : L. 125i (from *ra* to *ma*: 3,5 cm).



§ 79



§ 80

§ 79 : <L. 97c> (line 1, from *p*/*ʿ* to *sā*: 20 cm). • § 80 : <L. 97b> (line 1, akšara 1—22, i. e. from *bo* to *na*: 37 cm).



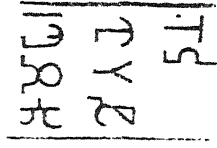
§ 81



§ 85



§ 84



§ 86



§ 86

- § 81 : <L. 23b>, From Ep. Ind. 19. 1927/28, photograph facing p. 97 (partly spoilt by tracing the letters in ink).
- § 83 : <L. 143f>. Pencil tracing (from *ka* to *sa*: 9,5 cm).
- § 84 : <L. 143g> (line 1, from *da* to *dhā*: 6 cm).
- § 86 : <L. 97d> (from *ā* to *[ja]*: 37 cm).
- § 88 : L. 92. From ASI [Ann.] Rep. 20. 1885, pl. 5, 1.

{ u x y a x y a u t l u x g o t i u g e o }
 { d s t t }

§ 89

{ u x y a x y a u t l u x g o t i u g e o }
 { d s t t }

{ u x y a x y a u t l u x g o t i u g e o }
 { d s t t }

§ 90

{ u x y a x y a u t l u x g o t i u g e o }
 { d s t t }

§ 91

{ u x y a x y a u t l u x g o t i u g e o }
 { d s t t }

§ 92

§ 89 : <L. 97a>. From Ep. Ind. 19. 1927/28, pl. 6 facing p. 67. • § 90 : <L. 97e> (line 1, from b*hi* to t/*ā*/ : 21,5 cm).
 • § 91 : <L. 124r> (from r*ā* [cf. above p. 124, 7] to e : 5 cm). • § 92 : <L. 124v> (line 2, left part : 12 cm).



§ 94



§ 95

§ 94 : L. 149 a. From ASI Ann. Rep. 1910/11, 2. 1914, pl. 24. • § 95 :
(L. 85 a) (akṣara 1—4: 8 cm).



§ 96



§ 97

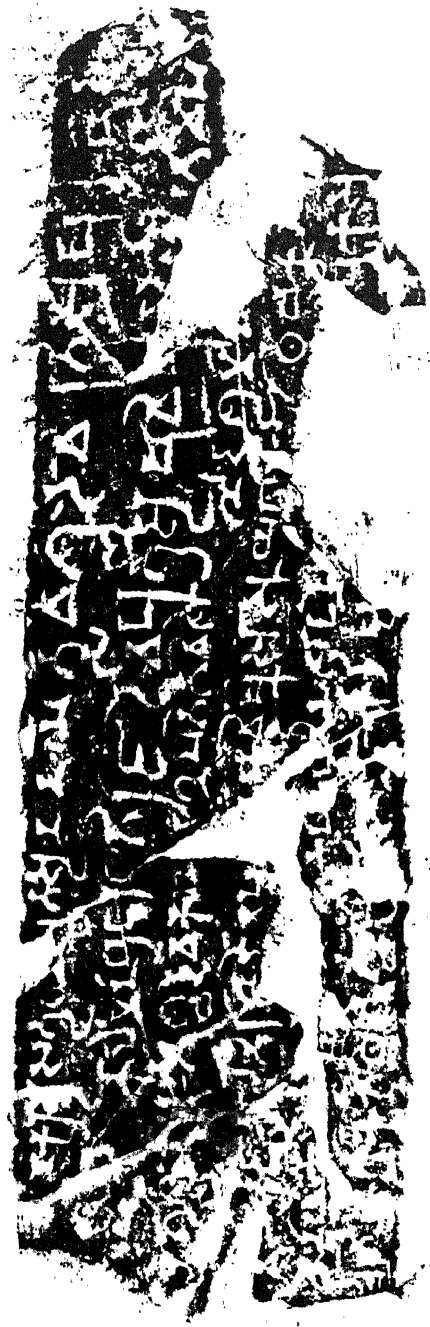
§ 98



§ 96 : <L. 85b> (from *ma* to *j[ā]*; 4,7 cm); — to the right: another impression (inscription only). • § 97 : <L. 78b> (from *ma* to *sko*; 62 cm). [Cf. above p. 133,2.] • § 98 : <L. 80d> (line 1, from *ma* to *bro*; 21,5 cm).



§ 99



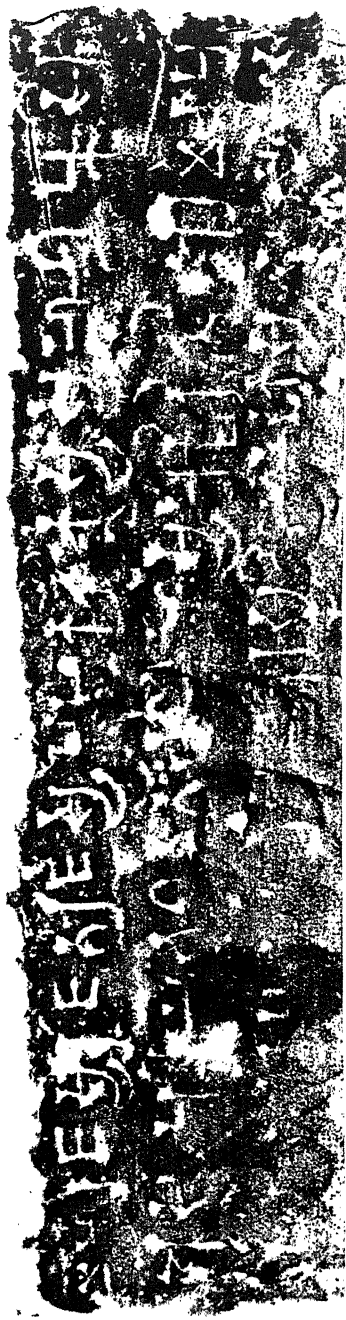
§ 99 : <L. 80c>. Two different impressions of the inscription (line 1, from *ma* to *jya*: 41 cm).



§ 100



§ 101



§ 102

§ 100 : <L. 80e> (from *ma* to *na*: 7 cm). • § 101 : <L. 80f>. From Vogel, *Sculpture de Mathurā* 1930, pl. 4, a.
• § 102 : <L. 21b> (line 1, from *ma* to *ṣ*: 59 cm).



§ 105



§ 104



§ 105

§ 106



§ 107

§ 103 : L. 13a. Two different impressions of the inscription (from *hu* to *gra*) : 29 cm). • § 104 : L. 13b (line 1, from *pri* to *tan*) : 4,5 cm). • § 105 : L. 15a (sign 1—2 : 3 cm). • § 106 : L. 15 (from *ja* to *na*) : 17,5 cm). • § 107 : L. 41a (line 1, from *sa* to *tha*) : 28 cm).



§ 108



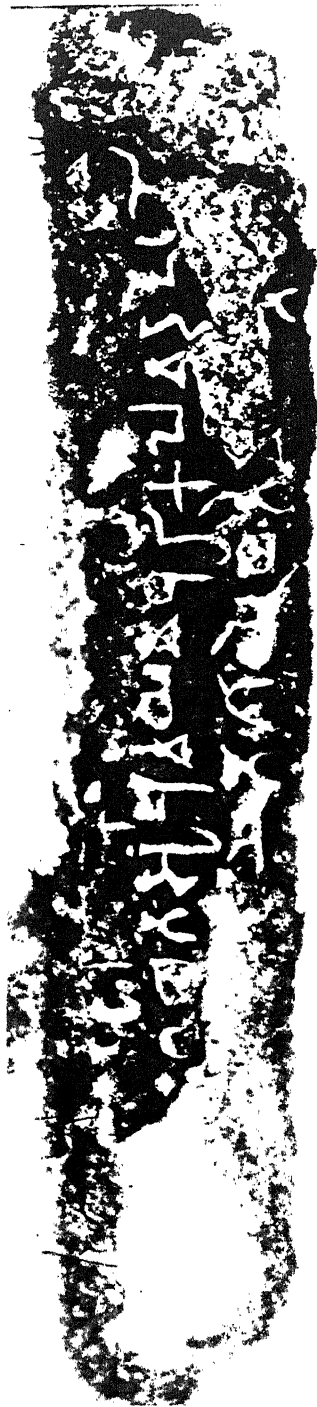
§ 110



§ 109

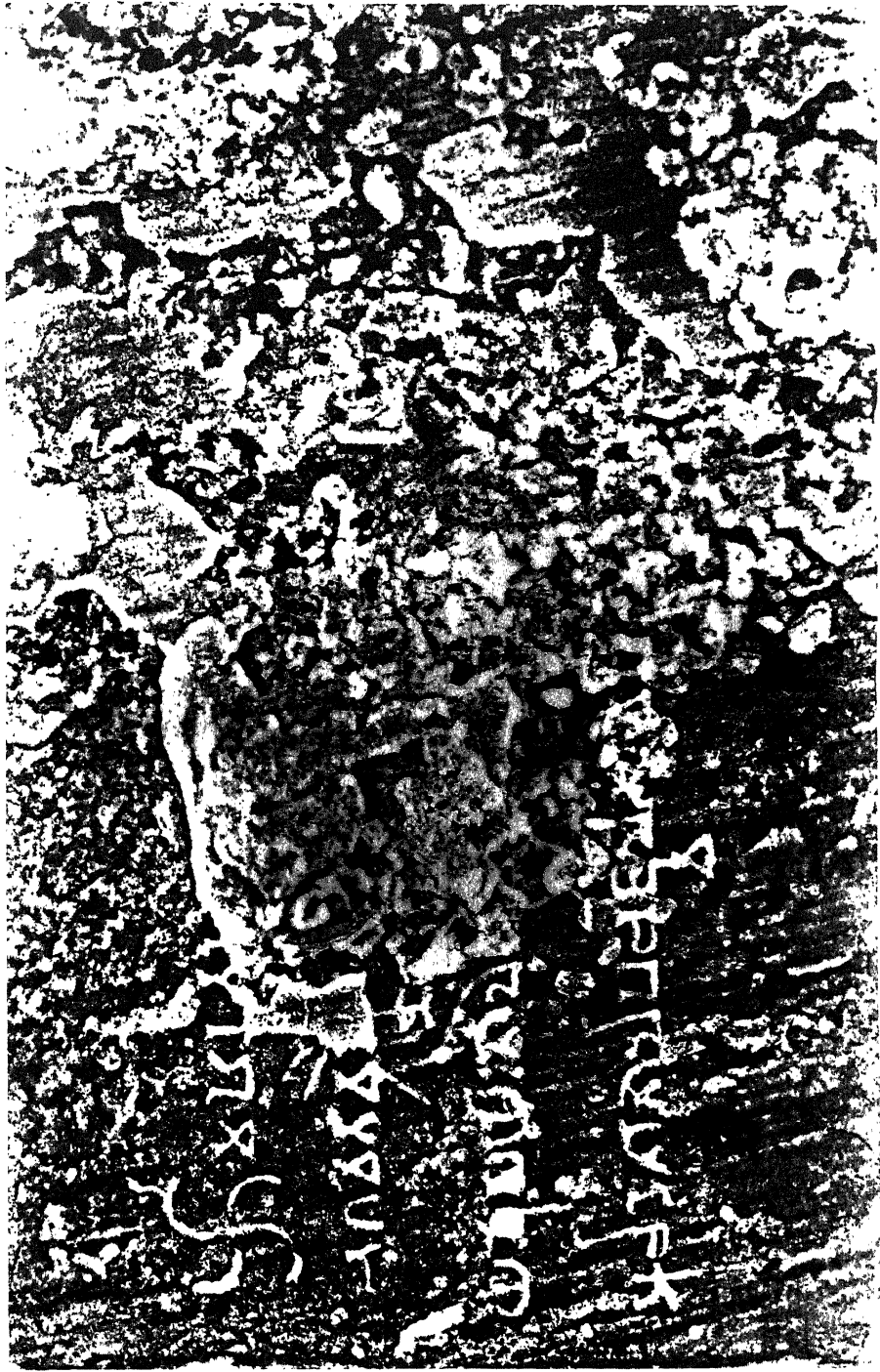


§ 111



§ 114

§ 108 : <L. 102c> (from *ā* to the māṅgala symbol: 23,5 cm). • § 109 : <L. 102d> (from *nā* to *[tā]*: 21 cm).
 • § 110 : <L. 102e> (from *[n/ā]* to *tā*: 21 cm). • § 111 : <L. 102e2> (from *va* to *t[a]*: 11,5 cm). • [§ 113:
 cf. the following page.] • § 114 : L. 14a (line 2, from *e* to *[kh]i*: 25,5 cm).



§ 113 : L. 14 (impression \leftrightarrow 44 cm).



§ 115



§ 116



§ 117

§ 115 : (L. 82a) (line 5, from *ša* to *ši*: 16 cm). • § 116 : (L. 14aa) (from *jī* to *ta[m]*: 38 cm). • § 117 : (L. 14d2) (from *bha* to *dā*: 11,5 cm).



[A]1



[A]2



§ 120



[A]3

[A]9



[B]14



[B]15



[B]18

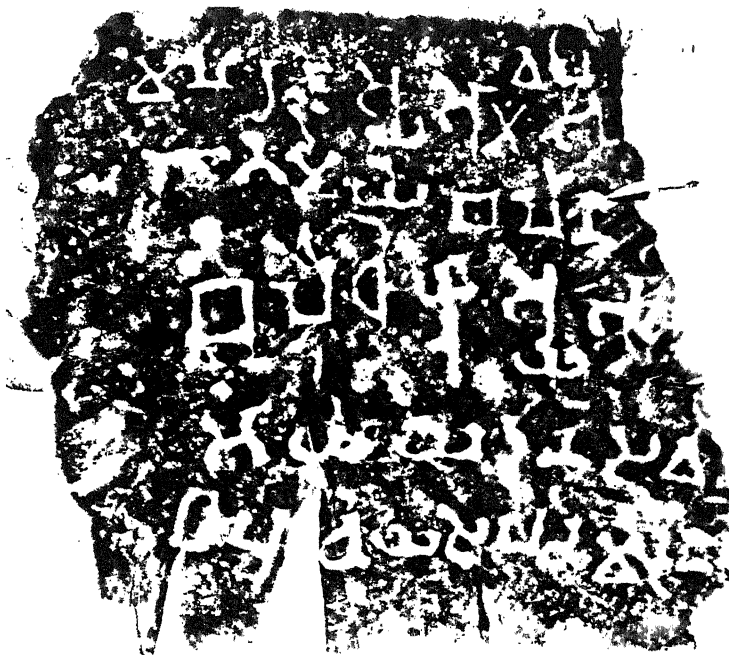


[B]19b

§ 120 : (L. 14d1), [A] 1 = Vogel's No a (from ro to s/a) : 23 cm), 2 = Vogel's No b, 3 = Vogel's No d, 9 = Vogel's No e; — [B] 13 = Vogel's No r, 14 = Vogel's No o, 18 = Vogel's No o, 19b = Vogel's No n. (13, 18, 19b from: JRAS 1912, pl. 2,4 facing p. 120).



§ 121



§ 123

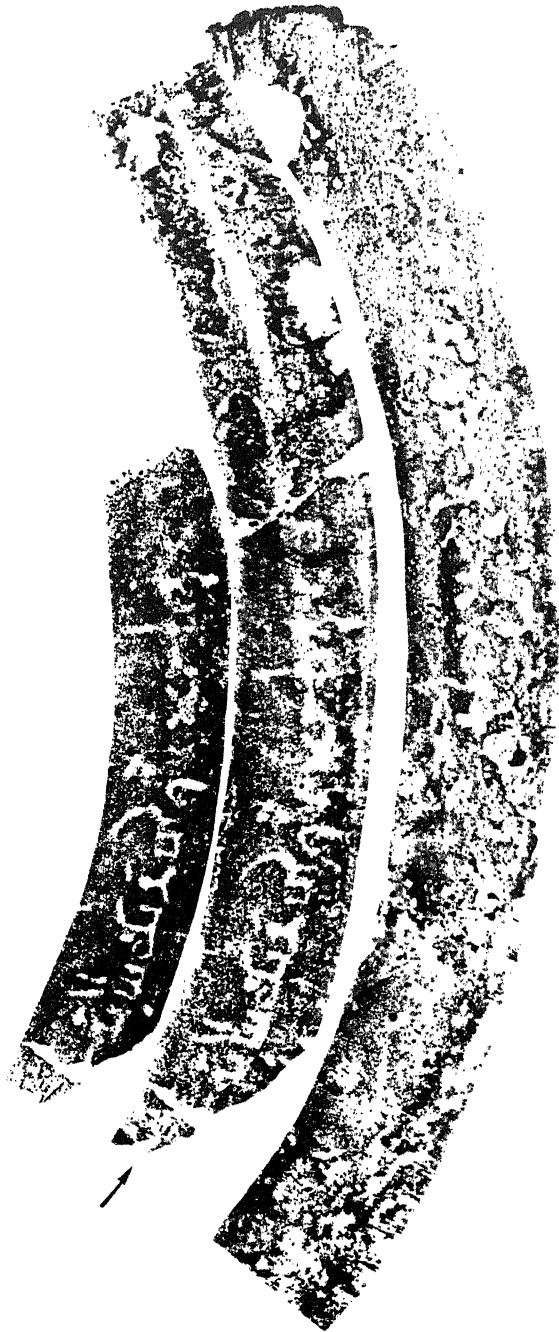


§ 124

- § 121 : L. 14b (impression of line 1: \leftrightarrow 15,5 cm). • [§ 122: cf. the following page.] • § 123 : (L. 77a) (line 2, from *ma* to *bh[ū]*: 20,5 cm).
• § 124 : (L. 92c) (from *prā* to *ka*: 4,5 cm).

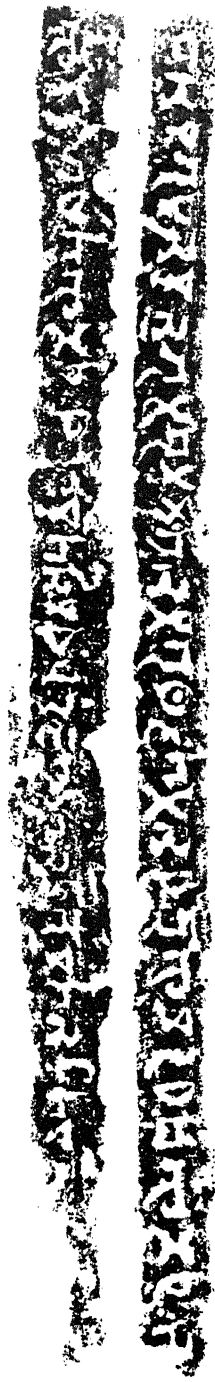


§ 122



§ 125

§ 122 : <L. 91d> (from *go* to *vā*: 37 cm). • § 125 : <L. 143d>. Above: the beginning of the inscription (akṣara 1—13, i. e. from *sām* to *n[ā]m*: 19 cm), and: → the whole inscription (another impression), from *sām* to the man-gala symbol.



§ 126



§ 127

§ 128



§ 126 : <L. 41 b> (line 3, from *blf* :] to *kh* [a] : 50 cm). • § 127 : <L. 143 c> (from *la* to *na* : † 7 cm). • § 128 : <L. 21 c> (line 1, from [ma] to *b* [o] : 42 cm).



§ 150

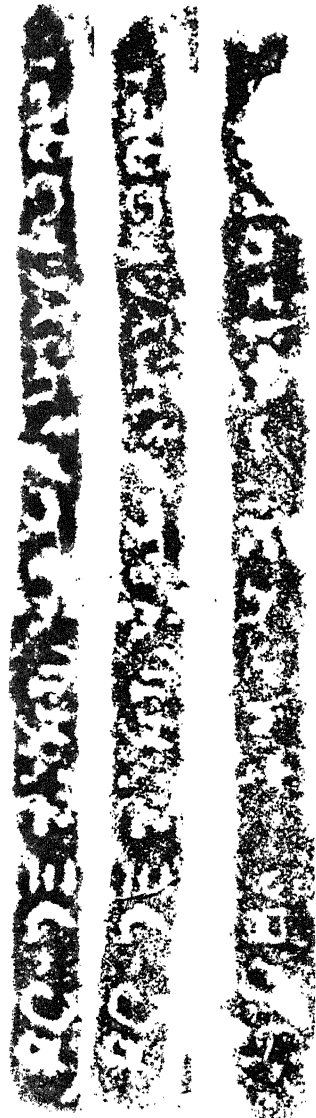


§ 151



§ 153

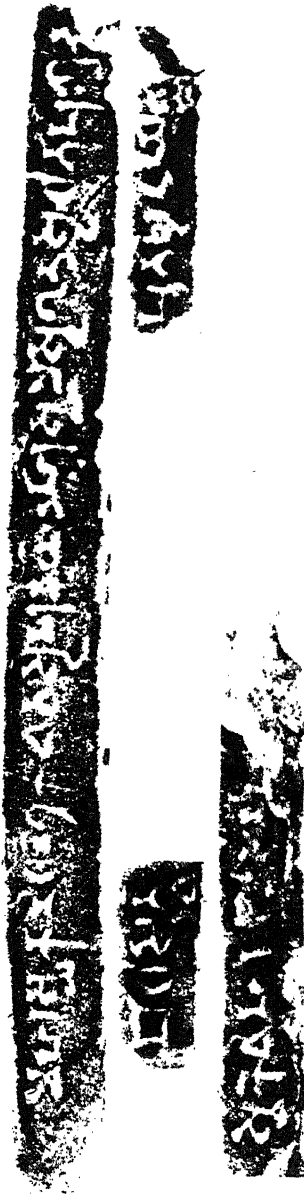
§ 130 : <L. 143h>. a: inscription on the proper right side of the pedestal (line 2, from .. to *tyd*: 5 cm); — b: from the proper left side. • § 131 : <L. 143n>. a: inscription on the front side of the pedestal; — b: from the proper left side (from *te[ā]* to *e*: 7,5 cm). • § 133 : L. 14e (line 2, from *bha* to *sya*: 24 cm).



§ 154



§ 155



§ 156

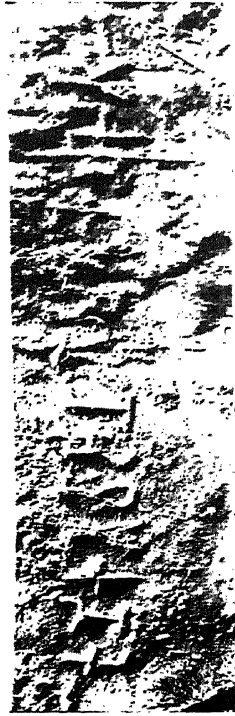
§ 154 : L. 12a. Two different impressions of line 1 (from *scm* to *sa*); 19 cm); one impression of line 2. • § 185 : L. 13 (line 1, aksara 1—28, i. e. from *sa* to *sa*); 61 cm). • § 186 : (L. 31b) (line 1, from *ma* to *da*; 30 cm).

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely from a manuscript. The text is written on a dark, textured background and is arranged in several lines. The script is highly stylized and difficult to decipher.

§ 137 : L. 149b (line 1, from *ma* to 40: 49,5 cm).



§ 139



§ 159

§ 139 : L. 150. From: Journal of the Department of Letters of the Calcutta University 4. 1921, pl. (facing p. 46): impression, — and pl. 3 (facing p. 56): paper moulds.



§ 146



§ 148



§ 147



§ 149



§ 145

§ 143 : L. 125b (line 1, from *tū* to *ya*: 4,5 cm). • § 145 : L. 125j (from *sa/m* to *sa*: 8,5 cm). • § 146 : L. 125f (from *jo* to *sa*: 14,5 cm). • § 147 : L. 125g (from *dā* to *sa*: 3,5 cm). • § 148 : L. 91c (from *jo* to *sa*: 15 cm). • § 149 : L. 125h (from *ši* to *ra*: 7,5 cm).

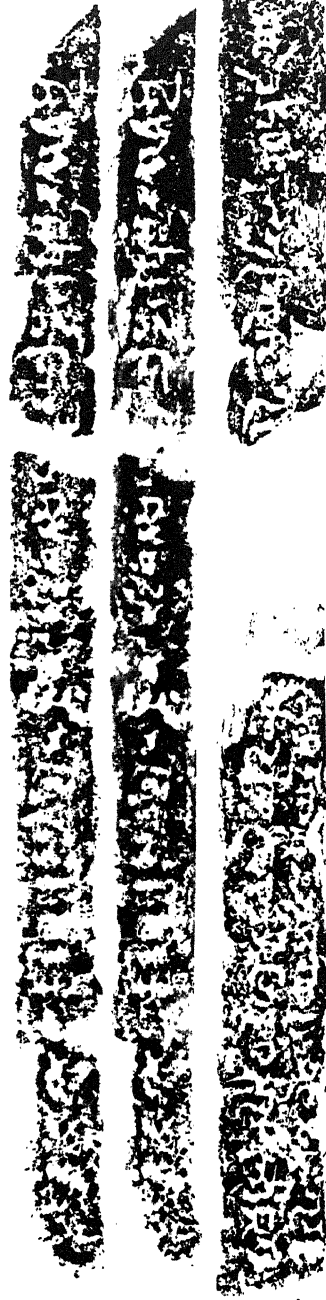
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§ 150

BY THE COURT

§ 150 : $\langle L_{24a} \rangle$ (line 1, from 10 to ye : 36,5 cm). • § 154 : $\langle L_{21a} \rangle$. Line 1, from $su[\eta]$ to ye : 20 cm; two different impressions of line 2/3.



§ 157



§ 160

§ 161



§ 159



§ 157 : <L. 79b>. Two different impressions of line 1 (from *si* to *ta* : 33,5 cm) ; one impression of line 2/3. • § 159 : <L. 91f> (line 2, from *ki* to *s[a]* : 5,5 cm). • § 160 : <L. 91h> (line 1, from [*g*]. to [*sa*] : 7,5 cm). • § 161 : <L. 149u>. From ASI, Ann. Rep. 1908/09. 1912, pl. 56, b.



§ 162

§ 162 : L. 89 b (line 7, from *bhā* to *ya* : 12 cm). • § 164 : L. 124 a (line 2, from *ma* to *ndhe* : 12,5 cm). • § 165 : (L. 124 z) (from *ya* to *sa* : 5 cm).



§ 164



§ 165



§ 167



§ 171



§ 168



§ 175



§ 172

§ 167 : L. 125e (from the *visarga* to *[m/ā]*: 18 cm). • § 168 : L. 92a (from *go* to *va*: 36 cm). • § 171 : <L. 124m> (line 2, from *[ya]* to *v[a]*: 14 cm). • § 172 : <L. 80b> (line 1, from *r[ā]* to *bha*: 62 cm). — Below: facsimile of the same inscription from: Ep. Ind. 19. 1927/28. • § 178 : <L. 92b> (from *ya* to *nam*: 7 cm).

§ 174

§ 175

§ 176

§ 174 : <L. 35b> (line 1, from *ma* to *sa/m*): 60 cm). • § 175 : <L. 143m> (line 1, from *si* to *na*: 19 cm). •
 § 176 : <L. 92d> (from *aksara* 2—44, i. e. from *dha* to *v/ā*): 62 cm).



§ 178



§ 182

§ 178 : <L. 85c> (line 1, from *vu* to *š[o]*: 33,5 cm). • [§ 179—§ 181: cf. the following page.] • § 182 : L. 23. From Ep. Ind. 9. 1907/08, plate facing p. 240.



§ 179



§ 180



§ 181

§ 179 : L. 148. From CII 3. 1888, pl. 42, B, facing p. 280. • § 180 : L. 43 (line 1, from *ma* to *ye*: 69,5 cm). •
 § 181 : (L. 93a). From IHQ 2. 1926 (No 3, September). • [§ 182: cf. the preceding page.]

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§ 186A

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§ 186B

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§ 188 : L. 138. From JRAS 5. 1870, pl. 3, 25. • § 184 : L. 145. From JRAS 5. 1870, pl. 3, 26. • § 185 : L. 147. From JRAS 5. 1870, pl. 3, 24. • § 186 : L. 149. A: from JASB 39, 1. 1870, pl. 5, 11, — and B: from JRAS 5. 1870, pl. 3, 18. • § 187 : L. 125. From ASI [Ann.] Rep. 3. 1873, pl. 16, 21.

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